Bismarck in literature

Helene Laura Landsberg

State University of Iowa

This work has been identified with a Creative Commons Public Domain Mark 1.0. Material in the public domain. No restrictions on use.

This thesis is available at Iowa Research Online: https://ir.uiowa.edu/etd/3622

Recommended Citation
https://doi.org/10.17077/etd.kqxkj9tc

Follow this and additional works at: https://ir.uiowa.edu/etd
A Thesis

submitted to

the Faculty of the Graduate College

of the State University of Iowa

in partial fulfillment of the requirement

for the Degree of Master of Arts.

-by-

Helene L. Landsberg.

State University of Iowa.

1913.
O U T L I N E .

I. Introduction.
II. A Short Biography.
III. The Relation of the Literary Bismarck to the Political Bismarck.
IV. The Literary Influences on Bismarck.
V. Bismarck's Influence on Literature.
VI. Bismarck in Literature.
VII. Resume and Conclusion.
Otto von Bismarck:

"'So ein Mann ist ein Triumph der Menschheit, er ist mehr wert, als ein ganzes Reich.'
Man kam auch von ihm wie von einem grossen Dichter sagen: 'Er ist immer da, so wie Homer, Shakespeare und Goethe immer da sind.'"

Franz von Lenbach.

Boehltingk, - Bismarck und Shakespeare - p. 149.
INTRODUCTION.

It is not only the German nation but the world in general which is learning to appreciate the great man of "blood and iron" more and more through the publication of his literary productions, and the ever increasing extensive literature created through the influence of the latter. It will ever remain true that great men will always be more loved and appreciated when known from their human side of life. Thus, it happened that Hesekiel's book, "Count Bismarck," 1869, aroused greater interest than previous works because it gave to the world besides the historic facts, which every one knew, Bismarck letters of a familiar character. Kohl has said of these: "Der Mann von Eisen und Blut, der durch seinen Kampf mit den Abgeordnetenhaus um die bedrohten Rechte der preussischen Krone zum bestgehassten Manne in Preussen geworden war, durch seine staumenerregenden Erfolge auf dem Gebiete der ausseren Politik der Welt bewiesen hatte, dass er ernst zu nehmen sei erschien in diesen Briefen an die Gattin und an die Schwester als ein liebenswuerdiger Mensch, der mit den Froehlichen zu lachen, mit den Traurigen zu weinen bereit war, der fuer Natur
ehrer-bietiger Furcht zu nahen wagte; dass er menschlich zu fühlten und die Sprache des Herzens zu reden verstand, dass er ein treuer und fuersorgender Gatte und Vater, ein liebevoller und liebenswürdiger Bruder, ein Freund seiner Freunde und zu den allen eine tief-innerliche religiöse Natur war, das lernte die Welt erst aus diesen Briefen kennen. Denn das Terenzische homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto, das Fürst Bismarck selbst als Motto für die Gesamtausgabe seiner politischen Reden ausgewählt hat, gilt auch für seine Briefe."*

* Kohl, - Bismarckbriefe, Vorwort zur sechsten Auflage. Ed. VIII.
his taste for literature. Possessing an active temperament, Schiller and Shakespeare appealed to him, and in his productions we find that he chose his quotations chiefly from these poets of action. He was a great admirer and student of Shakespeare, and is called Germany's Shakespeare-man. Thus it may be that when he answered his country's call, Arthur Bœhtlingk is right in saying: "Wie, wendi Otto von Bismarck der erste gewesen sein sollte, der das Zeug gehabt haotte, dem 'Will of all Wills' nicht nach-zudichten sondern nach-zuleben? Dies das Geheimnis seiner immer wachsenden Groesse waere? Das Verstaendnis des einen am wirksamsten durch das Verstaendnis des anderen gefoerdert wuerde?"

Be that as it may, for if literature is the lasting expression in words of the meaning of life, the Bismarck literature certainly lives and will continue to live.

Bismarck's letters to his wife from Frankfurt and Hungary are the finest literature of their time, and his speeches are pronounced excellent. "They contain more quotable sayings, and have enriched the speech of Germany with more quotations, than the spoken words of any

* Bœhtlingk, - Bismarck und Shakespeare, - Vorwort. p. vi.
German since Luther."

What is true of Bismarck's letters and speeches is also true of his other contributions to literature, such as his "Table-Talk," and his "Reflections and Reminiscences." In his Table-Talk, we obtain glimpses of the celebrated statesman - the greatest doer of his time, in familiar intercourse with his friends, to whom he unbosoms himself on men and things in general. This "talk possesses a charm far superior to that of the greatest masters of art - such as Luther, Goethe, Johnson, or Coleridge."** As to the "Gedanken und Erinnerungen" we find that Bismarck wrote these and dictated them after his retirement from office in 1890. He spent some years at this task and to-day they serve as a precious inheritance for the German nation.

In studying the literary works of the great man, we find it probable that he may be considered a master of the German epistolary style, and the most important representative of modern eloquence. His creative power has enriched the German language and by the application of this betterment, he has developed the art of letter

* Smith, - Bismarck and German Unity. - p. 93.
** Lowe, - Bismarck's Table-Talk. - Preface iv.
writing and oratory.

Thus, to quote Philipp Stein: "Was bei Lebzeiten Otto v. Bismarcks seinen Zeit-genossen, seinen Mit-kämpfern und Gegenkämpfern fast unmöglich gewesen — richtige Distanz zu gewinnen zu dieser gewaltigen, woberragenden Personlichkeit, zu diesen 'Schicksalsmenschen der deutschen Geschichte' - das beginnt jetzt allmahlich sich anzubahnen. Und immer mehr wird darum auch in bisher vielfach noch widerstrebenden Kreisen anerkannt werden, dass wir in Bismarck nicht nur den sieghaften Mann der Tat zu feiern haben sondern dass wir in ihm auch einen Klassiker der deutschen Prosas des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts besitzen"*

* Stein, - Bismarck Brevier - Preface I, XII.
A SHORT BIOGRAPHY.

In April 1885, there was held at Berlin, in connection with the festivities in honor of Bismarck's seventieth birthday, an Exhibition of all the known, that is attainable, products of art and literature on the subject of his career. Among the exhibits was an album belonging to the German National Museum, which contained in Bismarck's own handwriting the following characteristic summary of his life and triumphs:

"Leopold Edward Otto von Bismarck, born at Schoenhausen, in the Altmark, April 1, 1815.

"Member of the United Prussian Landtag, 1847.

"Royal Prussian Envoy to the German Bundestag, 1851.

"Ambassador to the Imperial Court of Russia, 1859.

"Ambassador to the Imperial Court of France, 1862.

"Royal Prussian Minister of State, September 25, in the same year.

"Chancellor of the North German Confederation, 1867.

"Chancellor of the German Empire, 1871.

"Fert unda nec regitur."*

Since the great Chancellor's literary tastes and

* Lowe, - Bismarck's Table-Talk - Chronology - P. v.
literary abilities were so closely interwoven with the political, we cannot avoid mentioning some of the varied abilities, capabilities and characteristics which he possessed.

It seemed as though it were ordained by Providence that one of the wisest and best talkers of modern times should make his appearance in the world just as Napoleon was preparing to make his last appearance on the world's stage at Waterloo. The anti-Napoleon was to prove the corrective of the Corsican. As Bonaparte had shaken to pieces the old and crumbling German Empire, so it was to prove Bismarck's great life-task to restore the shattered edifice; and give the ancient structure, with modern improvements, a time defying air. Napoleon had been a son of the South, a representative of the Latin race. The Teutonic North was now to have its turn in keeping up the continuity of human greatness - of the one-man-power kind - in the person of Bismarck. This man may be said to have reached the zenith, or at least the central point, of his wonderful career at the time when, in the presence of a brilliant gathering of German sovereigns and soldiers in the palace of the kings of France, he read the proclamation of the German Empire. In 1862 King William summoned the ambassador Bismarck from Paris to make him Minister, and within eight short years Bismarck, so to speak, had
returned the compliment by summoning King William from Berlin to Paris to make him an Emperor. Bismarck himself was at this time raised to the rank of prince and appointed Chancellor of the Realm by his benefactor.

From the time of his appointment to represent Prussia in the Diet of the old Germanic Confederation at Frankfort, Bismarck had served his country continuously for twenty years before the proclamation at Versailles. He spent these years in reconstructing the Reich, and he was destined to spend just as long a period on the still more difficult task of consolidating it. Although he came to Berlin as substitute deputy in 1847, his career really began at Frankfort in 1851, and his eight years of activity there led him first to Petersburg and then to Paris as ambassador. From Paris he was finally summoned to Berlin to become Premier and "Parliament-tamer" to William I. Then for eight years he led a life of constant strife in budgetless conflict with the Prussian chamber, and was successively at war with Denmark, Austria and France. After the refounding of the Empire, he was engaged in constant combat with the perils which beset the completion of his creative task - now plunging into the Kulturkampf, or war with Papal Rome, now wrestling with Social Democracy and
carrying on the work of economic reform parallel with that of repression, and at another entitling himself to be called the greatest State Socialist of his age; then fighting for an increase of the army, and again acting as an "honest broker" with the view of securing to Germany and Europe the continued blessings of peace. The chief object of his foreign policy was the preservation of the peace of Europe by the isolation of France, the conciliation of Russia, and the preservation of an alliance between Germany, Austria, and Italy. How Bismarck did all these things and many others which made him for more than a quarter of a century the most conspicuous figure on the stage of European history, is intensely interesting.*

In order to do Bismarck justice and recognize him as he was, we must place ourselves in the position of a man who was born and brought up with the idea that loyalty to his sovereign was an ethical principle, and who, although he had later somewhat outgrown this belief, found it useful as a basis - probably the only basis available - on which to raise the political superstructure of his own life's work, the elevation of Germany to its proper posi-

tion in the family of nations, and its liberation from those evils from which it had suffered for centuries, owing to its interminable subdivisions and its liability to foreign intrigues.

We cannot do otherwise than admit that an undertaking so difficult and so great accomplished in such a short space of time could in all probability have only been carried through in the manner that it was, and this probability is largely increased by the fact that during the succeeding twenty years of Bismarck's administration he is credited with not having made a single important political blunder.

We find that his worst enemies have never been able to prove a single discreditable act against him in his public or his private life. Sometimes he may have been violent and domineering, but never for personal ends for all his thoughts and activities were concentrated on what he considered the welfare of his country. The word he used most, and which represented the idea ever present in his mind was the word "must." The union of Germany must come, and from this one "must" all other "musts" were deduced. The union of Germany must come, and Germany cannot work out her unity alone. Some Power must then, help
her. This power must either be Austria or Prussia. But if unity be not given to Germany by Austria, it will not be given with Austria's help, it must then, be accomplished against Austria. The victory of Prussia over Austria, however, will disturb the balance of power; it will especially affect France and Russia. These powers must, then be either won or defeated. Through family connections, and in other ways, Russia may he won. But France with a Napoleon on her throne, and German territory in her possession, cannot be won, France then, must be fought.

In carrying out this policy of must, Bismarck allied himself with no party. He said to Busch, in 1881:
"While I have been minister I have never belonged to any party. My party consisted of the King and myself, and my only aims were the restoration and aggrandisement of the German Empire and the defence of monarchical authority."

During Bismarck's time it was necessary to resort to action, and being a man of action, Bismarck realized his own strength and judgment: He was both a great man and a genius. His peculiar ability is described in the one word comprehensiveness; the faculty of mentally grasping the largest number of facts at any one time. We cannot doubt his having acquired a Shakespearian knowledge of
human nature for he knew just how far human nature could be trusted. His reasoning was of the typographical order. He placed his subject before him as if it were a chart, and studied relations of its different facts to one another, as he would countries on a map. The map of Europe meant not only an outline, or drawing of cities, mountains, rivers, and seas, but to him it was also filled with human life, and every nation on it was a special and continuous study of which he had volumes already in his head.

Bismarck believed in the divine right of his King, and he had a genuine affection for his old emperor, but he never hesitated to insist on the adoption of his own views. His sovereign had to choose between the adoption of his minister's advice and the loss of his adviser; and as the monarch thought that he could not govern without Bismarck, he had practically no alternative but to give way. Bismarck never made the claim in words (I am the real King,) but "the most gracious," as he used to call his sovereign, must have felt every year, and almost every hour, of his reign, that Bismarck, and not he was the real King of Prussia, the true Emperor of Germany. Whatever causes may have led to his dismissal by his
third Emperor of Germany, Wilhelm II, the reason, the true reason for his removal lay no doubt, in the determination of the present Emperor to rule, and not to serve. He resented his great Chancellor's dictation and freed himself from the restraint which it involved.

Bismarck must, however, be recognized as the greatest statesman of our time, with the exception of Cavour, no other man has wrought similar work in modern Europe; and that the work which he set himself to do, and which he did with his whole might, was on the whole advantageous to his people and the world. The results alone of his career claim and deserve our admiration. It was well for his country and for Europe that Germany in the hour of necessity found a man of blood and iron to work out her future.*

Bismarck was a man who possessed strong social instincts and great social talents. The perception of the characteristic in men and in things, the faculty of sketching in words, the frequent wit and the humor made him one of the best of letter writers, and also one of the best talkers. This talent he turned to good account not solely in European diplomacy, but in German politics as

well. Many questions that could not be settled by debates in Parliament were adjusted over the beer and in the smoke of his famous parliamentary soirées, or Home Parliaments.

England would have regarded Bismarck as one of the best of parliamentary speakers, but the Germans incline toward the oratorical in public speaking, thus, they did not appreciate him fully as such. His manner was usually conversational. The substance and arrangement of his speeches were excellent. In fact, his writings have not alone the excellence often observed in men of action — as for instance the simplicity, direction and vigor of Wellington — they have in a high degree a distinctly literary quality and charm. "The vague word is avoided and the precise and unique word is found; the current phrase fresh minted and clean-cut, there is the unexpected turn that is wit without obvious intention, and the literary suggestion that is not quotation; there is everywhere the perception not only of the intellectual but also the sensuous value of words - on the whole there is style. When Bismarck's letters were just published the poet Heyse is said to have thanked God that that man had gone into politics,'because he would have spoiled our trade.' "

* Smith, - Bismarck and German Unity. - Pp. 91 - 93
THE RELATION OF THE LITERARY BISMARCK TO THE POLITICAL BISMARCK.

Bismarck revealed the relation of the literary to the political in words, deeds and actions. His own words were: "Jeder gute Redner muss ein Stück Dichter sein,"* and we find that he not only carried out his Dichter idea in his speeches, but also in his letters and his memoirs. Many of his literary productions, by their very nature, give evidence of the literary-political relationship or combination. Therefore, because of the excellence of the combination and its great success, honor is bestowed upon whom honor is due. "'Bismarck' is considered 'the greatest representative of modern eloquence,' and he is 'the master of German letter writers, and is counted among the founders of New Journalism.'"**

When we consider Bismarck's greatness we must always keep in mind that he is a so-called 'Menschert-natur.' Stein in speaking of him as a speaker comments upon his ability at improvisation and adds: "seine Gedanken flossen zu meist aus der Augenblicks-stimmung. Um so bewunder-werter ist darum ihre wie in Erz gefügte klassische Form.

* Stein, - Bismarck Brevier, Vorwort, xi. - p. 91.
** Ferris, Germany and the German Emperor. - p. 246.
Stein, Bismarck Brevier, Vorwort - xii.
Um sie aber ganz voll auszukosten und vor allem ihre psychologische Genesis zu verstehen, ist es gar oft erforderlich, sie in einem gewissen Zusammenhang der Rede zu geben. Das Gleiche aber wie vom Redner gilt vom Briefeschreiber Bismarck, der 1848 einmal seiner Schwester raet, man duerfe sich nicht jedesmal einen geistigen Sonntagsrock zum Briefeschreiben anziehen. Seine Briefe sind und wirken ebenso unmittelbar wie seine Reden - alles darin ist Urspruenglichkeit, Gesundheit und Einfachheit der Empfindung alles hat intim personlichen Reiz. Es zeigt sich oft starke Leidenschaft, mit unter der ganze furor teutonicus. Immer spuert man das Ausstroemen einer grossen Persoenlichkeit, der nichts Menschliches fremd ist. Die Welt spiegelt sich in diesen Reden und Briefen. Jede Empfindung erhaelt hier das entsprechende Wortbild, jedes Ding den richtigen Namen. Das hat Bismarck zum Schopfer jener gefluegelten Worte gemacht, die wie Blitze einschlugen - solche Blitze sind, wie Johannes Scherr es einmal praezisiert, niemals aus Grammatik und Lexikon herauszuschlagen, koennen nur aus dem Mute eines starken Gefuehls vollen Ausdruck erhalten. - Das aber ist es ja auch was den Dichter macht, und wie Bismarck's Forderung, jeder gute Dichter musse auch ein Stueck
Dichter sein, auf den Redner Bismarck zutrifft, so
nicht minder auf den Briefschreiber."

We find that Bismarck coins the metal as he gives
it. He gladly exchanges the solemn speech of the tri-
bune for the unconstrained tone of a lively conversation.
He directs himself more often to the reason and the will,
than to the feelings. His style is clear, thoughtful,
always engrossing, often startling and stirring, and he
is not sparing in quotations, similes, and epigrams.
He chooses his quotations chiefly from Schiller and
Shakespeare, the poets of action. His comparisons are
intelligent, natural, and for the most part new and ex-
temporary, drawn from the picture book of daily life.
His ready memory supplies his lively imagination on all
occasions with matter for allusions, and new combinations
of ideas. When he comes to a climax in a speech he often
collects all that he has in his heart in one powerful say-
ing, as if he were striking the last blow to drive in the
nail. These sayings then become "Winged words" stirring
and full of consequence, but colored and dictated by the
mood in which they are spoken, and mostly one sided, like
popular proverbs. Bismarck's utterances must be under-
stood in relation to the occasion on which they were

* Stein - Bismarck Brevier, - Vorwort = x-xi.
spoken, and the Opposition at which they were aimed.

When Bismarck feels the flames of the national spirit burning within him, or wants to fan them in his hearers, passion or intention causes him to rise to pathos and enthusiasm.* The following may serve as illustrations in his own words, of the above mentioned:

"Ich habe noch nie einen Handschuh liegen lassen den mir einer hingeworfen hat."

'1879, 16 Juni. Reichstag."

"Nicht durch Reden und Majoritaets beschlusses werden die grossen Fragen der Zeit entschieden - das ist der grosse Fehler von 1848 und 1849 gewesen - sondern durch Eisen und Blut."

"Dann kommt man sehr leicht, auch ohne gerade kuenstlich nervoes gemacht zu sein, in eine Stimmung, die ich dem Herrn Abgeordneten nicht besser charakterisieren kann, als wenn ich ihm empfehle, in einer der ersten Szenen von Heinrich IV, nach-zulesen, was Heinrich Percy fuer einen Eindruck hatte, als der dort besagte Kammerherr kam, ihm die Gefangenen abforderte und ihm, der wund und kampfesmude war, eine laengere Vorlesung gebru


** Stein,- Bismarck Brevier, p. 50.

*** Stein,- Bismarck Brevier - p. 132.
Schuszwaffen und innere Verletzungen hielt. Die Stelle

(Heinrich IV. I Teil, Akt 3 Scene:

Ich erinnere mich, nach dem Gefecht,
Als ich, von Kampf und Anstrengung erhitzen,
Matt, atemlos, mich lehnte auf mein Schwert,
Kam ein gewisser Herr, nett, schoen geputzt,
Frisch wie ein Braeutigam.----------------)

im Anfang des Stueckes und faengt mit den Worten an.
'I remember that when the fight was over, there came
a certain Lord!' usw. ... So ungefahr wie Percy ist
mir zu Mute, wenn ich ueber Dinge, fuer die ich gelitten
und gekampft habe, die ich besser kennen muss, solche
Reden hoere.

1867. 29 Maerz, Norda. Reichstag."*

As early as 1851 the Pomeranian Squire gives evidence
of the fearless mind of a literary man: "I flatter myself," he wrote to his sister, Frau von Arnim, "that I
have gradually brought the Diet to a piercing knowledge
of its absolute nothingness. Heine's well known song,
O Bunâ, du Hund, du bist nicht gesund ('O Diet, thou dog,
thou art not well') will soon be unanimously adopted as

* Stein, - Bismarck Brevier - pp. 64-65.
the German national anthem,"* thus the words of the young Prussian deputy at Frankfurt. Several years later, he utters words which show his ever increasing fearlessness: "Vor sechzehn Jahren lebte ich als Landedelmann, als der Wille des Koenigs mich als Bundestagsgesandter nach Frankfurt berief. Ich war auferzogen in der Bewunderung, ich moechte sagen, dem Kultus der oesterreichischen Politik. Ich brauchte nicht viel Zeit, um meine Jugendirrtuemer uber Oesterrich los zu werden, und ich wurde sein erklareter Gegner. Die Erniederung meines Landes, die Aufopferung Deutschlands fuer fremde Interessen, eine hinterhaltige und treulose Politik, das alles war nicht geseignet, mir zu gefallen. Ich wusste nicht, dass ich in Zukunft eine Rolle Spielen sollte; aber damals fasste ich den Entschluss, den ich jetzt auszufuehren im Begriffe bin, Deutschland von dem Joche Oesterreichs zu befreien, wenigstens den Teil desselben, der nach Geist, Religion, Sitten und Interessen an die Geschichte Preussens gebunden ist, ich meine Norddeutschland. - Um dieses Ziel zu erreichen, trotzte ich allem, dem Exil und selbstdem Schaftett. Und zum Kronprinzen, der durch Erziehung und Geistesrichtung mehr ein Mann der parlamentarischen

* Perris, - Germany and the German Emperor: pp. 201-202.
Regierung ist, habe ich gesagt: was liegt daran, wenn man mich aufhaengt, wenn nur mein Strick Ihren Thron fest mit diesen Norddeutschland verbindet."

"1866. 9 Juni zu Bilbert, Korrespondent des Pariser Siecle.

(Bilbert Oeuvre de Mr. de Bismarck - Paris 1869. S. 214 f.)*

Although Bismarck possessed some foreign characteristics and cultivated some English tastes, he was thoroughly German. By literary-political means he made the German language more universal. In that respect he followed, to a certain extent, in the footsteps of Luther. During his time the official language was French and he knew what he was talking about when he said in the Lower House of the Prussian Landtag of 1847 - "Das Auslaendische hat immer einen gewissen vornehmen Anstrich fuer uns."

Those who were proficient in French received political positions even though they were not as capable as those not versed in it. Bismarck was a good French scholar and was required to make use of the language frequently, but at every possible opportunity he resorted to his mother tongue and emphasized its importance. We find foreign

* Stein, - Bismarck Previer, - Fp. 22-23.
words in his productions, but they serve the purpose of Kraft-ausdruecke of which the German language had none. Therefore, he constantly uses foreign words or phrases, not so much because he was called upon to speak French and sometimes English, as because those languages are verbal concretions of a long political existence, which is not the case with German. Thus, in one of his speeches he said, "'I must beg you to leave this matter to the appreciation of the Government!' and 'The vague construction of the measure allows us a certain latitude of enforcement.' On another occasion he used the expression 'outside the enceinte of the Federal Council;' and again, 'Such complaints, pronounced in Parliament, obtain a wide retentissement.'"

Bismarck, a student of English literature and a great admirer of Shakespeare was strengthened and inspired by him, but believed as did Lessing, that Shakespeare is to be studied not plundered. Boechtingk bears out this statement in the following words: "Wie Lessing den Englischen Dichterkoenig zum Leitstern fuer unsere Buehnen-dichtung erkoren, nicht um uns zu anglik-anisieren wie Gottsched und die Gottschedin durch Nachahmung der Franzosen uns zu franzoesieren drohten, sondern um uns durch sein

Vorbild auf uns selbst zu stellen und zu einer eigenen nationalen Volks-dichtung zu verhelfen, so ist Bismarck, in dem er sich in, Shakespeare vertiefte und seinen Genius auf sich einwirken liesz, erst recht zum vollenwerten Teutonen geworden. Bei aller Vorliebe fuer die englische Dichtung und Sprache und Bewunderung, der englischen Nationalitaet verpoente er nichts so sehr, wie den Kultus des Englischen, gar englischen Einfluss in politischen Dingen."*

Since Bismarck was, to a certain extent, a Hamlet-natur the great historical dramas of Shakespeare appealed to him. Their elements gave him inspirations and he derived power from them in the great struggles which he fought out so victoriously in his political career. To quote Boehlingk again: "Die vier Jahre von 1866-1870, mit all ihrer Muehsal und den staendig drohenden Gefahren in ewiger Ungewissheit ob des Ausgangs, haben in jeder Hinsicht zu den Schwersten gehoert, die der Schoepfer des Reiches durch-zwischen gehabt. Dies bezeugen auf Schritt und Tritt seine Anrufungen Shakespeares.

Nicht genug damit, dass das napoleonische Frankreich und das halb burgische Oesterrich, mit dem paepstlichen Rom als Sporn und Rueckhalt, unablussig darauf

*Boehlingk, - Bismarck und Shakespeare - p. 146.
bedacht waren, den Sieger von Koenig-graetz seine
Errungenschaften wieder zu entreissen und Preussen-
Deutschland ein fuer alle mal abzutun,- die 1866 be-
sieigten deutschen Fuersten und Staaten drohten mit den
Todfeinden des Deutschen Reiches gemeinsame Sache zu
machen. — In dieser Lage drohten die Volksboten
sogar den bestehenden Friedenstand des Heeres zu ver-
ringern. Als Bismarck diesen Vertrauensseligen den
Star zu stechen suchte, indem er von einer Degenspitze
sprach, welche auf die preussisch-deutsche Brust gerichtet
sei, und ihn der Karzsiichtigsten einer wegen dieses Bildes
geradewegs hoehnte, brach am 30 Januar 1869 der Loewe
wieder einmal los: 'Der schlaftrunkene Kaemmerling des
Koenigs Duncan sahen Dolch des Macbeth auch nicht; die
Aufgabe der Regierung eines grossen Landes ist aber die
Augen offen zu haben und wach zu sein.'

Gar wenn er an jene dachte, welche, nur ihren Thron
wieder zu gewinnen, es nicht erwartet konnten, dass der
Napoleonide das werdende Deutschland eber den Haufen
werfe und ihn seinen Fusz auf den Nacken setze. — 'Die
Coriolane,' schleudert er diesen Vater-landsverraetern
entgegen, 'sind in Deutschland nicht selten, es fehlt
ihnen nur, an — Volskern! Und wenn sie Volsker faenden,
wurden sie sich bald demaskieren; nur den letzten ver-
soehnenden Abschluß Coriolans wuerden alle Frauen
Kassels und Deutschlands dann nicht im stande sein
herbeizuführen.'"*

Bismarck not only exerted influence and power by
his citations from literature and the comparisons with
its great historical characters, but he also found it
advantageous to his political ends to make use of the
press. He is counted among the founders of New Journ-
nalism simply because he was connected with the press
from the beginning of his political career to the end
of his active life. Bismarck not only used the press
vicariously but he also wrote for it. As early as
1848 the young Bismarck, as substitute-deputy of the
Prussian Diet, when not engaged in supporting his King
in speeches busied himself watching the events of the
street, the convention, and the palace in order to form
his opinions of them for the newspapers. His unsigned
articles influenced the people greatly. Thus, we find
Bismarck at this time one of the founders of the Kreuz
Zeitung (still a leading Conservative paper), perhaps al-
ready discovering in the printing press one of the most
powerful of his future weapons.

* Boehlingk, - Bismarck und Shakespeare - pp. 74-76.
For many years Bismarck supplied articles to the Neue Freussische Zeitung, which he partly founded, and during his sojourn in Frankfurt, 1851-1859, he was very busy with press work - according to Hezekiel, doing little else there, until he was appointed to the rank of Minister. He watched the utterances of the Prussian press very closely while at Frankfurt, and worthy of mention is that "during the summer of 1852, he prepared a pamphlet entitled, 'Shall the German Customs' Union be destroyed? A Voice from the South,' of which 1000 copies were printed and sent to the most influential manufacturers, farmers and trademen in Southern Germany. On the 6th of September, 1852 (apropos of a newspaper dispute about the Zollverein) he announced to General Manteuffel that he had forwarded letters to the Frankfurter Journal, and the Swaebsiche Merkur, as well as to seven other journals appearing in Hesse, Nassau, Baden, Bavaria and Wuertemberg. 'Should contradictions appear in the South German press,' he continued, 'I will take care that they are properly answered.'*

As Premier and Chancellor, no less than Federal

Envoy, Bismarck continued to turn his attention to the press and utilized it when he thought fit. When Dr. Moritz Busch, experienced in official press work, joined Bismarck's staff in 1870, he immediately discovered that the statesman whom he had the honor of serving understood the business of journalism. That Bismarck could certainly teach the old journalist something was illustrated when one of Busch's first tasks was to write an article for the Kölnische Zeitung to be dated from Paris. "'Yes' commented the Chief, 'you have correctly expressed my meaning. 'The composition is good. But no Frenchman thinks in such logical and well ordered fashion; yet the letter is understood to be written by a Frenchman. It must contain more gossip, and you must pass more lightly from point to point. In doing so you must adopt an altogether French standpoint.' "*

Busch was one of several chief assistants to Bismarck in his press work. He stood, apparently, outside the regular Press Bureau of the Foreign Office, and took instructions daily from the Chancellor for articles which were communicated to the press, and also

*Perris, - Germany and the German Emperor, Chap. VI. The Bismarkian Transformation, - p. 245.
for shorter communications and conversations with editors. Bismarck often dictated a whole article. If Busch is to be trusted, a considerable portion of the Chancellor's time was spent in journalistic work, which continued to be the case up to the end of his active life.

Bismarck's fearlessness and sentiments are shown in a savage article which he dictated April 12, 1870, about the corruption of French manners:

"The idea that Paris is the home and school of good manners is now only to be met with in other countries, in old novels, and amongst elderly people in the most remote parts of the provinces. It has long since been observed, and not alone in European courts, that the present generation of Frenchmen do not know how to behave themselves. -- It is therefore conceivable that the Empress Eugenie as a sensitive Spaniard, has been powerfully affected by the tone and character of Parisian society. -- We know that the Empress has repeatedly recommended young Germans as models for the youth of France."* His daring spirit is very evident in his sub-editing the royal words (at the

* Perris, - Germany and the German Emperor. Chap. VI. p. 247.
time of his *dîner à trois* - Moltke, Roon and himself) which resulted in the Ems telegram. He left the head and the tail of the Abeken Dispatch, as he said, and changed its body to suit himself. Having the royal privilege he communicated it at once to the North German Gazette and chief newspapers of Europe, and to the German embassies. The wording of the Ems telegram and the way it was circulated had the desired effect. Paris heard its contents at midnight of the day it was sent out, and was aflame with anger, at once crying out, "to Berlin."

In order to fully understand Bismarck's greatest influence over the press, we must go to Edward Schulz, who in his Doctor's thesis, "Bismarcks Einfluss auf die Deutsche Presse," treats very extensively Bismarck's influence over the press during the years of the Franco-Prussian War. It suffices here to quote the following: "Von jeher ist sich Bismarck des Wertes der Presse und ihrer Bedeutung bewusst gewesen. -- In umfassendem Masse benutzte er sie wenn er sich Vorteil davon versprach, aber er verfolgte sie auch skrupellos, wenn er besorgte dass sie ihm schaden koenne. -- In seinen letzten Jahren hat er es gelegentlich -- nicht
verschмаehт der Presse seine Anerkennung zu zollen und zu erklären, dass er die öffentliche Meinung als 'Imponderabilien der Volksseele' hochschätzt. Unzweifelhaft aber hat er in den politisch bewegten Zeiten manchen seiner Erfolge der Mitwirkung der Presse zu verdanken gehabt. Bismarck hatte beständig einen Press referenten um sich, dessen Aufgabe darin bestand seine Weisungen in der Presse weiterzugeben, um so indirekt auf die öffentliche Meinung einwirken zu können.


So wichtig mit unter die Weisungen Bismarcks waren
so hatte doch natur-gemaess keine annahmend die Wir-
kung der Emser Depesche. Wer woher auch irgendwie
schwankte, welche Stellung er nehmen sollte, wurde
durch die Depesche bestimmt Frankreich, die Schuld am
Kriegszuzuschreiben.

Es ist nicht zuviel gesagt dass die Emser Depesche
die ganze deutsche Presse unter Bismarcks Einfluss ge-
bracht hat. Dafuer spricht, dass jetzt auch die radi-
kelsten Blatter mit einstimmen in den Schrei der Ent-
trustung ueber Frankreichs Verhalten, und mit grosser
Genugthuung wird in der gesamten deutschen Presse die
Tatsache besprochen dass Deutschland geeinigt in den
Kampf zieht, der ihn von Frankreich aufgezwungen ist.'

Among other articles from various newspapers,
Schulz mentions from the Sozialdemokrat: 'Zum Schluss
aber erklaren wir, dass die Schuld an einem Kriege dies-
mal vollstaendig Napoleon trifft. Der preussische Koenig
konnte nicht anders handeln wie er getan."

Finally, we cannot emphasize too much the power of
the literary political combination which made Bismarck
an effective journalist, speaker, talker and letter writer.
In considering Bismarck's attitude toward literature and the

* Schulz - Bismarcks Einfluss auf die Deutsche Presse, -
writers thereof, we may get a clearer idea as to his conception and appreciation of literature.
THE LITERARY INFLUENCES ON
BISMARCK.

Since Bismarck was inclined toward literature and possessed literary tendencies, it is very natural that his attitude toward literature and the writers of literature was very favorable. History and modern languages always appealed to him, which increased his appreciation of literature. As a mere child he spoke French fluently, and the English he had learned at a very youthful age, while attending the Berlin schools, was a great help to him when at the age of seventeen, he came to Goettingen to attend the university. His year 1832-1835, at Goettingen was a profitable one to him throughout life, for various reasons. Although people like to remember the fact that the twenty-eight or more student duels he fought there prepared him for the more serious and greater duels to be fought during his political career, it is more important to bear in mind what he gained in a literary way, in knowledge of important men and things, - which really helped him to become great.

It was at Goettingen where his interest in literature was intensified, where he came in contact with
literary men from different countries, and where he became acquainted with literary works which awakened in him a stronger love, admiration and appreciation for English literature, the more kin to the German than any other. In 1832 the Hannoverian House sat upon England's throne, Hannover was governed from London and consequently many Englishmen visited the university founded by their own king. Among the young men at the university were the two Americans, John Lathrop Motley and Coffin, and the Englishman Astley who became Bismarck's most intimate and life-long friends. They aroused his interest in English literature and without a doubt he owes it to them that in later years he could speak with pleasure to his English visitors of his early study of their literature; telling them how he, as a young man, read Byron assiduously, and then turned to Shakespeare and Moore, and also read Carlyle's German works. Next to Germany, England had his warmest sympathies, and our nation had for him the fascination of contrast. "Through life, the Iron Chancellor had a sincere liking for the American as an individual - as witness his cherished friendship for Motley and his amicable relations with George Bancroft, Bayard Taylor, William Walter Phelps, Andrew D. White, and other cultivated Americans."*

* Schierbrand. - Germany - Chap. XXIV. pp. 350-351.
When we consider that Bismarck possessed characteristics peculiar to Englishmen, we cease to wonder why he liked English literature especially. In many respects he resembled the greatest of Englishmen, Shakespeare, which resulted in his being called, "Germany's Shakespeare-man." The most striking resemblance to him consisted in his deep sympathy for mankind in all the different walks of life. Like Shakespeare, Bismarck the poet and Bismarck the man are one. They are happiest when surrounded by nature, they have the same sense of honor, of patriotism, of political and religious justice, the same love for state and fatherland. In the tragedies of life we find them seeing both sadness and humor. As to religion they may be called Naturfromme. What is true of Shakespeare is true of Bismarck: "Natur bleibt ihm das Allumfassende."*

Bismarck himself said that if he had not been born a Prussian he would have liked to have been an Englishman. Therefore, it is not surprising that to a certain extent, he was almost more of an Anglo-Saxon than a Teuto-Saxon. He spoke English fluently, as already stated; he was an ardent sportsman, a deadly shot, a daring rider, a fear-

* Boehtlingk, - Bismarck und Shakespeare - p. 112.
swimmer, and in his younger days he led a life similar to that of Squire Western. In his personal tastes, political methods, patriotism and courage he resembled some of England's greatest men, and like them, was fond of country life and had affection for dogs and horses. Such a man would naturally be especially interested in the so-called Freiheits-dichter, such as Shakespeare, Schiller, Byron - who are men of action also. As the classical writers, so Bismarck through his interest in Shakespeare attained greater success in the literary world.

In regard to Bismarck and his college friends, Coffin, Motley, and Astley, at Goettingen, Boehlingk says, "Sie hatten sich zusammen gefunden unter dem Sterne - William Shakespeare."* Bismarck always enjoyed speaking of these university days and liked to sing:

"In good old colony times,
When we lived under a king,
Three roughish chaps - - - "*

With Coffin he had made a bet that Germany would be united within the course of twenty years; with John Lathrop Motley, American Ambassador and the historian of the Dutch Republic, he corresponded for many years

* Boehlingk - Bismarck and Shakespeare - p. 3-4-5.
as Bismarck's letters to him and Motley's letters, to Bismarck returned by Prince Bismarck to the Motley family at Motley's death in 1877, testify. Of this man, who visited him several times in his own home, he wrote to Oliver Wendell Holmes in 1878: "I met Motley at Goettingen in 1832. Although not yet having mastered the German language, he exercised a marked attraction by a conversation sparkling with wit, humor and originality. In the autumn of 1833, having both of us migrated from Goettingen to Berlin for the prosecution of our studies, we became fellow lodgers in the house No. 161 Friedrich Strasse. There we lived in the closest intimacy, sharing our meals and outdoor exercise. Motley at this time had arrived at talking German fluently, he occupied his time not only in translating Goethe's poem 'Faust,' but tried his hand even in composing German verses. Enthusiastic admirer of Shakespeare, Byron, Goethe, he used to spice his conversation abundantly with quotations from these his favorite authors."* Bismarck also spoke of his discussing topics on science, poetry, and practical life with him - and that their faithful companion was Count Alexander Keyserling, later a great botanist. This letter shows that Bismarck was also a man of ideas and

* Stearns, - The Life of Prince Otto von Bismarck - p. 22.
that the two men were evidently kindred spirits.

In regard to Astley we find that Bismarck's first letter ever to be published gives us a clew as to their relationship between him and Bismarck. In this letter of 1836, Bismarck asks Astley to send him from his library "Richard III" and "Hamlet." He asks him to come to Berlin, and if he cannot come, he, Bismarck, will visit him perhaps in the Harz Mountains when they shall meet again like Macbeth and Banquo in "thunder, lightning, and rain."

After Bismarck could no longer enjoy Shakespeare evenings with Motley and Keyserling, he corresponded with Motley and whenever they wrote to each other, Shakespeare would come to their minds; this was especially the case with Bismarck. Both men have the same enthusiasm for the English Dichterkoenig - and their affinity for him is testified by the similes used in their letters in connection with events in their lives - such as from Julius Caesar, Taming of the Shrew, and others.

Although we find that Bismarck was a disciple and reader of Shakespeare up to the time of his death, it is interesting to note that he and his young wife spent regular Shakespeare evenings at the home of his friend Blankenburg. And while at Frankfurt 1851-1859, he carried on
confidential correspondence with his friend, General von Gerlach, also a lover of Shakespeare, in which a cipher was used. This cipher had been agreed upon because of precaution and consisted in towns being indicated by the name of villages familiar to them, and persons denoted—and not without humor—by suitable Shakespearean characters such as Fortinbras, Trinkulo, Falstaff, and Romeo. Bismarck liked to quote Falstaff because there was Shakespeare-humor in him. In a letter of Feb. 1856, he writes: "Die unwürdige und verlogene Politik Falstaffs muss ihre bittern Fruechte tragen wenn nicht bald eine Umkehr erfolgt."*

Judging by what Bismarck has said and done we know, that he was affected by literature, and when we study his literary productions it is not surprising that we can detect a literary influence in the productions of a man susceptible to literature. It is not strange that he should draw from men like Shakespeare, Byron, Goethe and Schiller, when he himself possessed literary tendencies and characteristics, and had no much in common with the so-called Dichterkoenig Shakespeare. Considering his life and works there is a great deal of truth in what is said of him by Boehlingk; "wie unsere klassischen Dichter so ist auch unser klassischer Staatsmann unter dem Genius des grossen Briten, von diesen geweckt."

* Boehlingk, - Bismarck und Shakespeare - p. 12.
tragen, herangewachsen." But he also emphasizes the fact: "Bismarck hat es ganzlich fern gelegen, - ihm als Dichter nach-zutreiben, er aber ist der Erste, der Gigante genug war, im Geiste des Englischen Dichter-

königs zu leben und zu taten. Das konnte er nur, indem er dessen volle Geisteshöhe erstieg, er sich im Innersten mit ihm identifizierte," and again speaking of Bismarck when confronted by the problems of life. "Man kann sicher sein, dass wenn ihn etwas auf das tieffste erregt und er zur Erreichung seines Ziels nach dem wirkungsvollsten Ausdruck ringt, ihn fast jedesmal Shakespearesche Gestalten und Worte in den Sinn und auf die Lippen kommen. Der englische Dichter-
könig loest seine eigenste Seelenstimung aus."

It is also interesting to note the fact that Shakespeare had become so dear to the young student that he named his inseparable Goettinger companion, his dog, 'Ariel' because to use his own words, 'Ariel war ein dienstbarere Geist.' The meaning of which Bohtlingk sums up as: 'So hatte er die Shakespearesche Dichtung 'in sich.' "*

Of the Shakespeare characters mostly used by Bismarck, may be mentioned Percy, Hamlet, Shylock, and Coriolan. He compared Louis Napoleon with Hamlet, as

* Bohtlingk, - Bismarck and Shakespeare - pp. 54, 145, 148-149.
the murderer of Polonius, and for another reason this same Napoleon was compared with Claudius. Bismarck himself was Hamlet in his "To be or not to be" moments, and Shylock is used in relation to the Emancipation of the Jew question. A letter of 1859 to his wife reads: "Everything here (in St. Petersburg) is only a question of time - races, and individuals, folly and wisdom, war and peace, come and go like waves, but the sea remains still." (Probably an echo of his Spinozistical studies), and a reminder of Hamlet in the church yard: "There is nothing upon this earth but hypocrisy and juggling; and whether this mask of flesh be torn from us by fever or grape-shot, fall it must, sooner or later. When it does, a resemblance will make itself manifest between a Prussian and an Austrian (if they happen to be of the same height) which will render it difficult to distinguish the one from the other, the skeletons of fools and wise men present pretty much the same appearance."*

This same Bismarck in 1879 addressed the Reichstag with the words: "Mein Vorbild ist Robert Bruce in seiner Geschichte mit der Spinne an deren steten Wieder-aufklimmen nach dem Herunterfallen er sich

* Busch, - Our Chancellor, Vol. I. p. 112.
ermutigte, um seinerseits das, was er fuer Recht und 
seinem Vaterland fuer nuetzlich hielt, auch bei den 
uebelsten Aspekten nicht aufzugeben.*

It was Bismarck also who only for a short time in 
his life felt himself called upon to speak of his re-
ligious life, which he then did more fully than either 
Roon or Moltke, apparently the better Christians.

The following illustration may serve to point out 
how he fitted some of the impressions which literature 
had made upon him to his mood or to the situation of 
the moment: In a letter of 1861, he endeavored to con-
sole his brother-in-law with the words: - "We must not 
attach ourselves to this world or make ourselves at home 
in it, twenty years hence, or, at most, thirty; we shall 
be past the troubles of this life, 'whilst our children 
will have reached our present standpoint and will dis-
cover with astonishment that their existence (but now 
so brightly commenced) has turned the corner and is 
going down hill. Were that to be the end of it all, 
life would not be worth the trouble of dressing and un-
dressing every day."** (This is a recollection of a 
passage in Goethe's Egmont.)

From letters to his wife we know that Bismarck 
liked the literature of the Bible. In a letter to his

* Stein - Bismarck Brevier - pp. 24, 25, 50.
** Busch, - Our Chancellor - Vol. I. p. 113.
bride, written in February, 1847, we read: - "ich will dich -- nicht mit Schriftstellen neber-
schwemmen. Dir nur sagen, wie herrlich ich die
Epistle Jacobi finde. (Matt. 25v. 24 und folgende,
Roem, 2, 6, 2, Cor. 5-10, Roem, 2. 13, 1 Ep. Job.
3. v. 7, unaehlige andre)* His interest in re-
igious literature had also caused him to read and
study Spinoza.

Bismarck showed his attitude toward literature
when he paid a tribute to it in speaking of it as being
a power and a helper in keeping the national feeling
alive. Germany is called the land of song and it is
said that the German soldier always sings - Bismarck
being blessed with a soldier's spirit, claimed that
music and song carried away the soldiers to accomplish
great deeds. In addressing the Dresdener Liedertafel
in May, 1892, he mentioned: "Fuer mich ist es eine grosse
Gnade von Gott, dass die Arbeit meiner Vergangenheit in
der Richtung gelegen hat, die das deutsche Lied den
deutschen Geist seit langem hat fortschreiten lassen."**

To quote Boehlingk: "Die Wirkung des Beckerischen
Rheinlieders im Jahre 1840, als der kleine Thiers die
Napoleonische Politik wieder aufnehmen und den Rhein
als Basis fuer diese erobern wollte, waere gewesen, 'als

* Stein, - Bismarck-Brevier, - p. 27.
** Boehlingk, - Bismarck und Shakespeare - pp. 130-131
ob wir ein paar Armee korps mehr am Rhein stehen gehaft haetten, als wir hatten. Aehnlich 1870/71 die 'Wacht am Rhein.' 

The great Chancellor appreciated the national poems of Robert Haasz very much. He wrote Haasz a personal letter in which he made comments upon the beauties of the poems, and at Kissingen he thanked him personally, repeating over and over again in a tear-choked voice, "Ich danke Ihnen, ich danke Ihnen von Herzen! Sie haben mir so wohl getan."

That literary men felt that this man, who understood a Shakespeare and a Goethe, had an appreciative attitude toward literature and the writers thereof, that they were impressed by his kindred spirit is proved by Carlyle's calling him "a man after his own heart." Then too, they were confirmed in their feelings and impressions in regard to him by their visits to his own home, in which he entertained them royally and by his keeping ever in touch with them through correspondence and study. They saw and heard that he practiced what he preached in words and deeds.

Goethe's: "Zu erfinden, zu beschliessen,

Bleibe Kuenstler, oft allein,"

may be said of Bismarck for his friend Keudell testifies to this in his remark: "Soweit meine Wahrnehmungen

reichent hat Bismarck niemals irgend einen Plan in Gemeinschaft mit einem seiner Raete erwogen oder entworfen."* His Kuenstler-natur demanded solitary creation.

Bismarck is called a Kuenstler-natur, and a Faust-natur, a Hamlet-natur, and a Man of Great Words; he is considered a splendid journalist, a master of German letter writers and modern eloquence. In order to appreciate him and understand him as such, we must at least get an idea of his influence on literature and of the real Bismarck in literature.

* Boehltingk - Bismarck Und Shakespeare - p. 133.
BISMARCK'S INFLUENCE ON LITERATURE.

A. HIS LITERARY WORK.

Before considering Bismarck's literary productions and their characteristics it may be well to mention that besides the inherited and natural literary tendencies which helped to make Bismarck great, his environment played a prominent part in his development. We find that "from the Prussian 'Junker' leading his little party of 1848, to the German Imperial Chancellor who in the defence of the State is backed by far the greater part of the nation, we have a story rich in events. Its steps are marked not only by victories in Parliament, on the battlefield, and in diplomacy, not only by the increase of importance and of honors, but by epochs in the inner life, by an extension of the political horizon through the conquest of prejudices and the sacrifice of convictions - the State which was Bismarck's creation was at the same time his school."* He grew with his aims.

In studying his works we must also bear in mind that he had a complex nature - as the Germans say: "er war eine höchst komplizierte Natur," er besass Stimmungen des Sturmes und Dranges, des Zweifels, der Romantik, der Seelenkaempfe, des heruhigten Gluckes, der Fehdelust und des Kaltsinnes,

Diese ganze reiche Tonleiter des Empfindens wie sie kein ander der letzten Menschen - alter wie Bismarck durch lebt hat."* These Stimmungen (humors or moods) added to his other characteristics, already mentioned, explain his many sided character as revealed in his literary productions. In short they lead us to understand the cause for the rich variety - quotations, foreign words, epigrams, metaphors and similes, wit, humor, satirical word sketches, humorous descriptions, stories, happy thoughts, idioms, anecdotes, humorous letters and jokes among much else which characterizes whatever he said and wrote. They reveal his extreme sensibility in many of his written and spoken utterances, as well as his strongly developed love of nature, of life in field and forest, of country pleasures and beautiful landscapes, and of the sea.

In order, however, to understand the man better, and his literary works more fully, it will be necessary to consider separately the different divisions - speeches, state papers, letters, table-talk and memoirs:

**SPEECHES.**

The substance and arrangement of Bismarck's speeches are splendid. He adapted them to convince his hearers and his best eloquence was his actions. In the make-up

* Gothein, - Criticism of "Bismarcks Jugend" p. 323.
of his composition, there was a dash of the melo-dramatic, or the sensational journalistic - therefore, more than once he startled the Landtag and the Federal Parliament with a bold phrase or gesture, such as, settling problems by "blood and iron." In spite of the fact that they are simple and plain, as he claimed speeches should be, their quotable sayings have enriched the German speech more than any German speaker's has since Luther. Bismarck's sentences are often of admirable construction, and he expressed his thoughts simply and clearly - choosing terse and genial sayings, well chosen images and sometimes out of the way expressions. What he said was to the point, clear-cut, and convincing. We read that he made one of his most powerful speeches when he supported King Friedrich Wilhelm IV. in his refusal to accept the imperial crown and then a Prussian poetess complimented him with:

"Hui, Bismarck, wie klingt deine Rede so gut! 
Hui, Bismarck wie flammst du im Loewenmut! 
Das Schwert deiner Rede, as blitzet so frei! 
Und der Sinn deiner Rede ist ewige Treu!"

* Boehlingk, Bismarck and Shakespeare - p. 158.
Bismarck's early speeches have the spirit of absolutism, but the time came when he had to admit that "compromise is the basis of constitutional life". When he sat for Brandenburg in 1849, he was one of the most frequent and incisive speakers. He took a very prominent part in the discussions, pertaining to the new Prussian constitution in which he defended the king, and his speeches of that period show great debating skill, strong originality and imagination. In fact, Bismarck was always actuated by an almost religious faith in the monarchical principle, and by deep reverence for the political traditions of the House of Hohenzollern. Therefore, he held to the last by one of his first public utterances before the Prussian United Diet of 1847:—

"The Prussian monarchs were placed in possession of a crown with virtually unlimited rights, not by the will of the people, but by the grace of God, and when they surrendered, a part of their rights they did so voluntarily - an example rare in history."

Other illustrations from some of his many speeches are:

"The rocher de bronze (the sovereignty) stands firm today; it is the basis of Prussian history, of Prussian fame, Prussian power, and constitutional monarchy.


"Ich hoffe es noch zu erleben, dass das Narrenschiff der

---

* & ** Dawson, - Germany and the Germans - Chap. XLIV. pp. 304-305.
Zeit an dem Felsen der Christlichen Kirche scheitert."

(Zweite Kammer.) "*

"Die letzten beiden Kriege (The Wars with Denmark and Austria) waren ein uns überraschendes zwingendes historisches Ergebnis früherer Jahrhunderte."

1887. 11. Jan. Reichstag. "**

"Eine Regierung ist verpflichtet, sich bei der Ausprache ihrer Wünsche nach der Decke ihrer Rechte zu strecken."

1867. 10 April. Reichstag. "***

"Ich hatte zuerst als ich den Antrag (den Anschluß Badens betreffend) las, das Gefühl, dass den Herren Antragstellern so etwas zu Mute war, wie Shakespeare den Heissporns Percy schildert, der, nach dem er ein halb Dutzend Schotten umgebracht hat, über das langweilige Leben klagt; es passiert eben nichts, es muss etwas Leben hinein gebracht werden! Gründung staatlicher Gemeinschaften, großartige Reformen, durchgreifende Gesetzgebungen, das alles erscheint den Tatendrang nicht; es muss etwas geschehen!" ****
"Wir koennen durch Liebe und Wohlwollen leicht bestoehen werden - vielleicht zu leicht - aber durch Drohungen ganz gewiss nicht! Wir Deutsche furchten Gott, sonst nichts in der Welt."

1886. 6. Februar. Reichstag "*

"Der mächtige kann unter Umstaenden nachgiebig sein."

1895. 1. April, Friedrichshruh.

Ansprache an 6000 Studenten."**

"In the Kulturkampf Bismarck made some splendid speeches, the following touches the problem to be solved and is an answer to Gerlach's "Man soll Gott mehr gehorchen als den Menschen."

"Ich glaube meinem Gott zu dienen, wenn ich meinem Koenig diene im Schutze des Gemeinwesens, dessen Monarch er von Gott Gnaden ist, und in welchem die Befreiung von fremden Geistesdruck und die Abhaengigkeit seines Volkes gegen romanischen Druck zu Schuetzen seine ihm von Gott auferlegte Pflicht ist, in der ich dem Koenig diene. - - Der Satz, um den es sich handelt, ist nur die Frage; soll man dem Papst mehr dienen als dem Koenig? Zwischen dem Papst und Gott ist den doch fuer mich ein wesentlicher Unterschied. Es handelt sich nur darum; sollen wir in weltlichen Dingen, wo es sich um unser  

* ** Stein, - Bismarck Brevier - pp. 101 - 176
Seelenheil in keiner Weise handelt, den Papst mehr dienen als dem Koenig?"*

As a word of explanation the fact may be mentioned that Bismarck's ideal State was not only a Christian but a Protestant state. Of this he has never made concealment.

For the sake of emphasis, Bismarck frequently used foreign words, for the French and English languages are more sharply defined than the German, since they have the verbal concretions of a longer political existence. Therefore, we find in a speech of 1879, "I can not deem it desirable to put the Government en demeure," and in 1880 he spoke of 'somebody's for interiour meaning his conscience. He was also fond of French idioms, as - "and if he possessed tous les tresors de l'Inde." **

Finally, in studying the speeches of Bismarck, we must remember that they are colored and dictated by the mood in which they are spoken. His utterances must be understood in relation to the occasion on which they were delivered, and to the Opposition at which they were aimed.

2. - STATE PAPERS.

The most important state papers with which Bismarck's name is connected and which mark him as the greatest statesman of the nineteenth century are treaties and constitutions.

* Blum, - Das Deutsche Reich zur Zeit Bismarcks - p. 103.
** Busch, Our Chancellor, Vol. II. p. 243.
the Gastein Treaty of 1865, made between Prussia-Austria and Denmark, the Austria-Prussian treaty of Prague of 1866, the Frankfurt Treaty of 1871 between France and Germany, and the treaties of the South German States with Prussia (important in connection with the Imperial Constitution) and the important constitutions of the North German Confederation and the German Empire. Of interest is also "The Little Book," Bismarck's political testament, of Frankfurt times; and the Emperor's proclamation speech, composed and written by Bismarck, and read by him at Versailles in 1871 when King William of Prussia became Emperor William I of the new German Empire.

The wording of the treaties is precise, abbreviated, to the point and Bismarck's energy and diplomatic skill are shown in the terms made, for they contain splendid thought and are well planned.

The Treaty of Prague is interesting for after the Koeniggraeetz victory of the Prussians over the Austrians, Prussia was in a position to dictate the terms of peace. Bismarck feared intervention on the part of neutral powers and desired a speedy settlement; he urged the unpolicy of inflicting lasting wounds upon Austria's national pride, and after a hard struggle he carried his point. Bismarck's plan for the aggrandisement of Prussia and the making her a supreme power was realized. It led to the forming of the
North German Confederation and to its Constitution of 1867. This constitution is Bismarck's work and it shows intellectual resource, originality and sense. He dictated the outlines of the new Constitution and the envoys to Berlin from the states represented were obliged to assent to everything on which he insisted. Every point was decided by him purely by reference to the political situation at the moment; he was careful in his treatment of the smaller states and did not wish Germany to be substituted on the German banner until a closer and more practical union was brought about with the fellow-countrymen. The constitution of the Bund looked toward the ultimate union of all Germany in one political body as Art 79 of that instrument provides: "The entry of the South German States or anyone of them, into the Bund shall take place, upon the proposal of the Prasidium of the Bund in the way of legislation."

The constitution which Bismarck drafted with the conciseness of a true lawyer exists today, for it is embodied in the Imperial Constitution and truly made him the Father of the State. In it his sovereign State theory was realized - the executive powers of the union were vested in a president (the king of Prussia) and a Federal Council consisting of appointed representatives of the different states. In this council Prussia was to have seventeen votes. The
presidency of the council was entrusted to a chancellor, appointed by the federal president (Bismarck of course became Chancellor). The legislative power was vested in the Federal Council and an Imperial Diet elected by manhood suffrage. In name federal, the new union was essentially national. Its power extended over military and naval matters; over commerce, railways, telegraphs and the post, over the entire field of judicial organization, criminal law and procedure, civil procedure and commercial law.

After the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71 - Bismarck had again the pleasure of dictating the terms of peace, and this time for the Treaty of Frankfurt. In brief his demands were: "all of Alsace and the German speaking part of Lorraine including the stronghold Metz, and an indemnity of 5,000,000,000 francs. - The Iron Chancellor insisted on the demands, hard to the French, which occasioned the American-Germans to rejoice with Emil Dietzsch in his song:

"Dich Metz und dich Strassburg, wir grüssen Euch beid!
Vorüber ist's Schmerzen, vorüber ist's Leid;
Wir haben euch wieder im neudeutschen Reich,
Vom Stamm eingeraubt, allmann'scher Zweig."

When the German Empire came into being in 1871, as an

extension of the North German Bund, the Imperial Constitution was formed. This law of the Empire consists practically of the consolidation of the four instruments - the constitution of the North German Bund, and the three treaties of 1870 as made between the Bund and the South German States. This instrument which with its concise preamble and fourteen articles enumerates with considerable detail the powers and relations of the different organs of government - shows the insight of its real creator, Bismarck. The constitution was drawn up by the one who knew precisely what he wanted and who understood the limitations imposed upon him and the concessions he was obliged to make to the existing order of things.

In regard to "The Little Book" above mentioned, Busch tells us that it is a "Memoir upon the necessity of inaugurating an independent Frusso-German policy" (known in the diplomatic world as "The Little Book"), which is the most comprehensive and invaluable production transmitted by him to his Government during his sojourn in Frankfurt. It may be regarded as Bismarck's political testament; upon the occasion of his departure from the capital of the Confederation - recapitulating his experiences, and written with a view to informing his successor, Von Usedom, what views the latter should take of Austria and her satellites, and how he should deal with them. This memoir is a chapter of
German history, and contains great wealth of sterling State wisdom. Keenness of perception, logical sequence of thought, profound and comprehensive intelligence, diplomatic adroitness and sound common sense, as well as true patriotism, are revealed in it, and stamp it as a political document of the highest class."*

As to the Kaiser proclamation to quote Lamprecht, "Die von Bismarck verfasste Urkunde war im Sinne eines Aufrufs an dasz deutsche Volk gehalten. Wir übernehmen die kaiserliche Würde in dem Bewuβtsein der Pflicht, in deutscher Treue die Rechte des Reiches und seiner Glieder zu schützen, den Frieden zu wahren, die Unabhängigkeit Deutschlands zu stützen und die Kraft des Volkes zu stärken. — Uns aber und unseren Nachfolgern, Kaiserkrone wolle Gott verleihen, allezeit Mehrer des Deutschen Reiches zu sein, nicht in kriegerischen Eroberungen, sondern in den Werken des Friedens auf dem Gebiet nationaler Wählufahrt Freiheit und Gesittigung."**

5. — LETTERS.

Bismarck is called the master of German letter writers and for a good reason, for his letters are a contribution to literature which mark him as a classic. Stein speaks truly in his estimation of them: "Immer spuert man das Ausstroemen einer grossen Persoenlichkeit, der nichts

** Lamprecht, — Deutsche Geschichte, II. 2, p. 562.
Menschliches fremd ist. Die Welt spiegelt sich in diesen Briefen. Jede Empfindung erhält hier das entsprechen de Wortbild, jedes Ding den richtigen Namen."*

Through the letters that were first published in 1869, the world discovered that the Iron Chancellor was human in feelings, that he could speak with the language of the heart and was a religious man as well as a good and loving husband, father, brother and friend.

It is impossible to give illustrations in this chapter of the various kinds of letters which Bismarck wrote. We can only give a few illustrations from some of the best. But, we can go to Kohl's "Bismarck-Briefe" a collection of 442 letters of different kinds, in order to enjoy them fully and appreciate Bismarck's varied nature. Kohl has arranged the letters in six divisions and partly in accordance with the periods of Bismarck's political career. They reveal the great man as he lived, thought and felt from 1836 to 1874.

In a letter of 1847 to his bride, he gives us an idea of what letters should be: "So sollen Briefe sein; wenn sie wahr sind, Abdrucke augenblicklicher Stimmung, wobei freilich die Grund-melodie nicht immer deutlich durch die Variationen der Oberfläche klingt,"** and thus his letters

* Stein, - Bismarck Brevier, Vorwort p. x.
** Stein, - Bismarck Brevier, Vorwort - p. 95
prove to be; in them we learn to know him in his moods.

Bismarck's letters bear testimony to his tenderness and affection for his family. Even on the busiest days, on journeys, in the midst of festivities, he always finds a moment to write home if only a few words. In 1862 he writes to his wife: "It makes me feel quite guilty to see so many beautiful things without you. If you could only be transported here through the air, I would at once set off with you to San Sebastian. --- "*

Bismarck's letters home are intended to transport those he is writing to into the presence of the writer. The smallest details of the day - the things and people about him, his luck at sport, a good shot, the health of his horse, are all imparted. When he travels, he always recalls the events of former journeys, and whenever possible he endeavors in a few fitting words to draw comparisons.

The fun which comes out in his earlier correspondence is most frequent in his letters to his sister Malwine with whom he is decidedly on the most affectionate terms. It seems to put him in a good humor immediately when he begins a letter with "Liebe Maldewine," or "Theure Kleine," "Dearest sister," "Ma Sœur" and after her marriage when he addresses her as "Madam," "Liebe Arnimen," "Liebes Herz" or "Theureste Kreusa."

*Many of Bismarck's letters are real gems of fanciful German, Bismarck - Briefe - p. 355.
narrative and description. Not seldom he writes in soft moods, and with a sharp eye and a characteristic pen for the beauties of nature, Bismarck can rise into genuine raptures. In a letter from Frankfurt to his wife, he writes: "Do not conclude from this scrawl that I am in a particularly gloomy state of mind; on the contrary, I feel as one does on a beautiful day in September when leaves are turning yellow; healthy and cheerful, a little sad, a little homesick, and longing for words, sea, desert, you and the children, sunset and Beethoven." Another Frankfurt letter of 1851 to his wife is a very characteristic one. "Yesterday and today I wanted to write to you, but with all the bustle and business worries, I could not manage it till now, late in the evening when I have come in from a walk in the lovely summer night air, where soft moonlight and whispering poplar leaves have wiped off the dust of public business. On Saturday afternoon I drove to Ruedesheim, with Rochow and Lynar, then took a boat and rowed out into the Rhine, and swam in the moonlight, with only my eyes and nose out of the tepid water, as far as the Mauserrurm at Bingen, where the wicked Bishop died. There is something wonderfully dreamy in lying on the water like that on a warm still night, slowly carried along by the stream, gazing up at the sky, and moon and stars above one, and on either side moonlit castle-towers and wooded mount-

Kohl, Bismarck-briefe, p. 125.
ain tops, hearing nothing but the gentle splashing of one's own motion; I should like to have such a swim every evening. Then I drank some first-rate wine, and sat a long time smoking with Lynar on the balcony with the Rhine beneath us. The starry sky above us, and my little testament brought us to religious topics, and I tried for a long time to shake the tendency of his mind to the moral teaching of Rousseau, with no result but that of silencing him. He was ill treated by nurses and tutors, and never knew his parents properly, and as a result of a bringing up similar to mine, has grown up with similar views, but is better satisfied with them than I ever was.

Letters to his friends Gerlach and Manteuffel in 1855 contain similes as well as wit and humor: "Unless we get hold of the helm of German politics forthwith, the ship will be driven into a French harbor by the breeze of Austrian intimidation and the tide of western influence, we playing the part of a mutinous cabin boy." This to Gerlach and the following to Manteuffel: "The Vienna Cabinet will play the part of Don Juan to all the other Cabinets, if it can secure the services of so sturdy a Leporello as Prussia; true to that role, it will always contrive to get out of scrapes at our cost, and leave us in them."

In a letter from Moscow we find: "Green has every right

** Busch - Our Chancellor, Vol. II. pp. 251-256.
to be the Russian national color, as it is. —Moscow, viewed from the heights, resembles a pasturage; the zinc of the roofs is green, the cupolas are green, the soldiers are green, and I have no doubt that the eggs now before me were laid by green hens." From a Vienna letter of 1864, we have: I was wet through and listened to music in the Volksgarten today for two hours. The people stared at me as though I had been a new hippopotamus for the Zoological Gardens."

The following to his American friend Motley shows a German and English mixture:

"Berlin 17 April 1863.

My dear Motley,—Du hast mir grosse Freude gemacht durch deinen Brief vom 9, und ich werde Dir sehr dankbar sein, wenn Du Wort haeiltst to write oftener and longer. I hate politics, aber wie Du richtig sagst, like the gro­

* Busch,—Our Chancellor — Vol. II. pp. 251-256.
in meinen reifen Jahren genecktigt werden wuerde, ein so unzuverlouiges Gewerbe wie das eines parlamentarischen Min-
isters zu betreiben. Als Gesandter hatte ich, obscho
n Beamter, doch das Gefuehl, ein gentleman zu sein. Als
Minister ist man Helot. Ich bin herunter gekommen und
weisz doch selber nicht wie. (Goethe's Schaefer's Klage-
lied is quoted from.)

In his correspondence with his superiors he always
shows the proper reverence and respect, but he does not
hesitate in expressing his opinions, and giving advice.
To be outspoken is very characteristic of him as a poli-
tical letter of 1666 to the King illustrates: "Your Majesty
has deigned to command me, - to express my opinion whether
the letter from the Duke of Coburg, which respectfully re-
turn herewith, should be answered.

I take the liberty to recall the fact that the Duke
of Coburg has during the past four years shared in every in-
trigue against your Majesty's internal and foreign policy.
- - I certainly do not go too far when I describe his
Highness as one of the most irreconcilable opponents of
your Majesty's policy, and state that no devotion to your
Majesty's honor or interest is to be expected from him. -
- - My humble advice is that your Majesty should leave the
letter of the Duke unanswered, and not conceal from his
aide-de camp that you have been disagreeably affected by
the enclosure. - - "It's**

** Busch. - Bismarck - Some 'Secret' Pages of His History.
Bismarck was one of the best talkers of modern times. His best eloquence consisted in his actions, and being a man of action, his table-talk was bound to be intensely interesting. Like most great table-talkers, too, Luther (with whom he had much in common) included, Bismarck after he had become famous, rarely conversed; he merely monologued. He was the oracle, and the duty of the others was to listen or at the utmost to suggest. He had many Boswells who made notes of his conversations, and who testified as to the charm of his talk and the impression it made upon all his listeners. His old student friend of Gottingen, Motley, after a visit to Varzin wrote to his wife: "Bismarck and I have had long talks about the great events in which he has been the principal actor, and he goes on always so entirely sans gêne, and with so much frankness and simplicity, that it is a delight to listen."

And again: "It is an infinite pleasure to listen to Bismarck's conversation, to hear the history of Europe during the last most eventful half dozen years told in such an easy going, off hand way by the man who was the chief actor and director of that amazing history. -- -- He talks away right and left about everything and anything."

In order to further his political influence, Bismarck gave parliamentary dinners occasionally, but finding these insufficient for their purpose, he found that he must expand his social machinery. Therefore, in 1869 he instituted his so called parliamentary soirées, or Home Parliaments, which played such a prominent part in the government of Prussia; Bismarck had discovered that he could do more political business with the deputies over beer and tobacco in his own home than he could from the ministerial bench of either Parliament. Besides being open to deputies the Home Parliaments admitted generals, and other officers, government officials, cabinet ministers, bankers, country squires, foreign attaches, distinguished strangers, artists, litterateurs - in fact, all the most representative elements for the time being in the capital.

On the occasions of the evenings at Bismarck's, the hospitality of the host was perfectly frank, generous and unrestrained. The rooms were free, and the etiquette unconventional. Late in the evening after the ladies had withdrawn, cigars were handed around to the guests, and the Chancellor himself took his pipe from the hands of his lackey - the most characteristic part of the feast then began by the opening of the Tobacco Parliament, the proceedings of which consisted chiefly in a sustained monologue by the Prince. Naturally entertaining, Bismarck had the faculty of keeping the attention of the most frivolous person. He
could blend instruction with entertainment by the methods he employed in his programme. The kernel of his discourse was often but half concealed in his stories or in his jokes. By his pleasantries he put his hearers into a good humor, and while they thought that they were being amused, they were already convinced of what Bismarck wanted them to be.

On the mornings following the soirées, the Berlin paper delighted their readers with tit-bits from the Chancellor's table-talk of the previous night, which was not displeasing to Bismarck. Thus his table-talk spread and came into literature.

Bismarck continued to give his entertainments until his retirement from office in 1890, but on account of his health the evening soirées had developed into Fruchtschoppen by that time. Besides the soirées Bismarck gave select dinners to leading politicians and diplomats, and in the seventies he had about a dozen favored, but informal guests at table, almost every day. During the five o'clock dinner hour the Prince entertained his guests with a continual flow of the liveliest and most entertaining talk on the topics of the day, as well as his reminiscences of the past. Princess Bismarck's drawing rooms were also open every night for many years to more intimate family friends. Bismarck often joined these gatherings for an hour or so, when he partook heartily of the good things
that were going and indulged in his favorite habit of thinking aloud.

In the easy, unconventional retirement of Wurzim and in the idyll of Friedrichsruh, Bismarck was most expansive and delightful as a table talker. At Friedrichsruh he lived with his relatives and friends, and here he received his countrymen from all parts of his Fatherland, as well as foreign friends. General Schurz of America visited Bismarck while he was still Chancellor, and speaks of his sarcastic humor to which he gave full reign in relating his funny Frankfort anecdotes about the aristocratic pretensions of the patrician burghers of that ancient free city, and about their lofty wrath at the incorporation of that commonwealth in the Prussian monarchy. But he remarks the "substance of his talk does not portray the manner in which he said it - the bubbling vivacity of his talk, now and then interspersed with French and English phrases; the lightning flashes of his wit, - - sometimes illuminating, as with a search light, a public character, or an event, or a situation, his laugh, now contagiously genial, and then grimly sarcastic, the rapid transitions from jovial sportive humor to touching pathos, the evident pleasure taken by the narrator in his tale; the dashing, rattling rapidity with which that tale would at times rush on; and behind all this
that tremendous personality - the picturesque embodiment of a power greater than any king's - a veritable Atlas carrying upon his shoulders the destinies of a great nation. There was a strange fascination in the presence of the giant who appeared so peculiarly grand and yet so human."*

Although we cannot see Bismarck before us in person, we can nevertheless see him in our minds eye and enjoy his table-talk exceedingly. The following illustrations are interesting:

At a luncheon party in 1892, one of the Chancellor's guests begged for and received permission to throw some scraps to his dogs. "I love dogs," said their master, "they never make us suffer for any harm we may do them."**

When at Frankfort, "Bismarck said to his excellent French cook, whom he was at last obliged to dismiss for plunder and peculation of the worst kind: "Je regrette beaucoup de ne pas pouvoir vous garder, mais malheureusement mon budget n'est pas à la hauteur de vos talents."***

* Schurz, - Talks with Bismarck - McClure's Magazine, Ag. 08. pp. 368 - 274.

**

*** Lowe, - Bismarck's Table-Talk - pp. 362, 328.
Among the Chancellor's epigrams may be quoted the following. In an album of a lady of titleMoltke had written the words, "Schein vergeht, Wahrheit besteht;" and immediately underneath this reflection Bismarck inscribed the following quotation:

"Ich glaube dass in jener Welt
Die Wahrheit stets den Sieg behaelt;
Doch mit der Lage dieses Lebens
Kaempf unser Marshall selbst vergoebens."

* Lowe- Bismarck's Table Talk pp. 327 - 328.

After a dinner given in Bismarck's honor by a Prince Putbus, Bismarck, when the cigars were passed around, proceeded to light an excellent Havana and to tell one of his cigar stories: "Ah! Yes, the value of a good cigar is best understood when it is the last you possess and there is no chance of getting another. At Koenig-graetze I had only one cigar left in my pocket, which I carefully guarded during the whole battle, as a miser does a treasure. I did not feel justified in using it. I painted in glowing colors, in my mind, the happy hour when I should enjoy it after victory. But I miscalculated my chances."

"And how?"

"A poor dragoon. He lay helpless, with both arms crushed, moaning for something to refresh him. I felt in

* Lowe- Bismarck's Table Talk pp. 327 - 328.
my pockets and I had only gold, which would be of no use to him. But stay - I had still my treasured cigar! I lighted this for him and placed it beneath his teeth. You should have seen the poor fellow's grateful smile! I never enjoyed a cigar so much as that one which I did not smoke."*

Bismarck liked to characterise people according to their merits, or demerits, thus he spoke of Count Muenster, the ambassador to London, as: "Eine lange Laterne ohne Licht."**

At the anniversary of Koenig-graetz, July 3, 1892, a number of school pupils from Hamburg sang to Bismarck a poem composed for the occasion, with the refrain, "We Germans fear God, and nothing else on earth" words with which the prince himself had concluded his famous speech in the Reichstag (spring of 1888) in support of a new Army Bill. Referring to these he preached the following doctrine of life to them. "May these words apply to you when you are men. He who trusts in God and himself burmounts every danger. Never let yourselves be intimidated. The true philosophy in Schiller's soldier-song in Wallenstein's Lager: 'Wohl auf, Kameraden, auf's Pferd, auf's Pferd:' I know it. Do not ask what is going to happen to you in life, but go forward and meet it bravely and fearlessly. That is an old maxim, and those who obey it will find that

* Lowe - Bismarck's Table Talk - pp. 98-99.
the waves of life will glide off them like water off a duck's back. If our lives lasted five hundred or a thousand years, and one had to be killed at last, there would be some reason for fear, but life is very short, and one ought to stake it for a great cause, courageously trusting in God."*

In Lowe's "Bismarck's Table Talk" there is a chapter entitled "The Fallen Chancellor" from which may be quoted (which could very well be classed as belonging to his memoirs and quoted from them): "It was a pleasure to serve the old Kaiser (William I) -- For him I would have done anything, nay, if nothing else had been possible I would willingly have become his valet, -- he was a perfect gentleman. I was deeply attached to him.

The Emperor Frederick (Frederick III) was a noble man. He was not, perhaps a man of great strength, yet he was one of very considerable perception, discretion and tact. He was a sharp sword with a short blade. Three years before the Emperor William died, his son called me and asked me to stay with him. I saw both him and the Empress Frederick, and I promised to remain in office. And I would have continued with him to the last; I would not of forsaken him, even though I had myself thought that he was in

* Lowe - Bismarck's Table-Talk pp. 369-370.
Enterprising a deputation of Goettingen students on his seventy-fifth birthday three days after his retirement to the Sachsen-wald, the Prince remarked: "The Emperor has performed a singular chassezcroislez. For he has made his best General (Caprivi) Chancellor, and his Chancellor a General" (Colonel - General of Cavalry) The difference between the Realist and the Idealist was too marked to be overcome in a working together. Thus followed the retirement of the greatest of German Chancellors.

Bismarck also said of William II: "I entertain no sense of resentment towards the young Emperor. I stand towards him in the relation of a father whom his son has ill used. - - - I am pleased to find that the Emperor means to undertake personally the work of Government, but I am sorry he did not let me know before that he had enough of me; I should myself have prepared a better exit. But after all I derive consolation from the fact that, if the Crown is a real power in Germany, I have mainly contributed to that result." Then again when in April 1894 Bismarck entertained a party of National Liberal deputies at lunch, he said: "Whatever may be our political differences, the rallying point for us all

* Lowe - Bismarck's Table Talk - pp. 359-360.
must continue to be the person of his Majesty the Emperor - William II." So, we find that Bismarck, the real Unifier of the Fatherland was still staunchly true to Kaiser und Reich.*

**MEMOIRS.**

Bismarck's "Gedanken und Erinnerungen" is a work which is a fitting conclusion to the story of his career. He was to such a large extent the author of the history of the present decades that it might be called his history.

When after his retirement in 1890, rumors spread that Bismarck was at work on his memoirs, the political and scholarly world awaited with intense interest the story of the creator of modern Germany. It was an event of literary importance when in November of 1898, the gates of the great house of Cotta at Stuttgart swung open and the task began of shipping 100,000 copies of the "Gedanken und Erinnerungen" of Prince Bismarck, orders for which at the end of the week were reported as 316,000 a number triple that recorded for the memoirs of our Grant. It was at this time that layman and scholar told stories of devouring them at a single sitting.

Bismarck spent several years - in fact from 1890 to the time of his death - at the task of writing the good work which he left as a splendid inheritance to the German

* Lowe, - Bismarck's Table Talk pp. 357, 359, 376.
nation. Busch, his Boswell; Bucher, the historian and diplomatist, and Kohl were asked to come to Friedrichruh to assist him in his work.

The memoirs cover Bismarck's life history from 1852 to 1888. They have the characteristics of his other works and show the man's wonderful mind. They tell of his student life, all the phases of his political career and of those connected with it, and characteristics peculiar of the Emperors, kings, great men and others of the time. It contains valuable letters written and received, descriptions of ways and customs of countries visited, conversations, discussions of great importance, likes and dislikes - in short, everything connected with the life history of the great man. Of special interest are the two chapters devoted to his Emperors - Emperor William I and Friedrich (William) III. These chapters portray the characters of these men and their relations with Bismarck. The correspondence between the men and their Chancellor reveals the high regard they had for one another - Emperor William I's letters of appreciation and gratitude in which he confers honors upon his Minister and Chancellor show his devotion to his friend as well, and are very beautiful.
B. QUALITIES AS A WRITER.

Bismarck is called a stylist - Kohl in his "Bismarck-Briefe" bears out this statement when he speaks of him in connection with the Bismarck letters previously mentioned with which Resekiel made the world acquainted in 1889 - - "er erschien in diesen Briefen an die Gattin und Mutter und an die Schwester als ein liebenswürdiger Mensch, der mit dem Frohlichen zu lachen, mit dem Traurigen zu weinen bereit war, der für Natur und Musik zu schwaerzen, durch packende Schilderung von Land und Leuten zu fesseln, mit der feinen Humor des geistvollen Pländerers seine Briefe zu wuerzen mit scharf-zugespitzter, doch nicht verletzender Satire die Schwaechen seiner Mitmenschen zu geisseln verstand. Dazu gab sich Graf Bismarck in diesen Briefen als einen Stilisten kund, der die deutsche Sprache in Lessings-ischer und Goethischer Klarheit redete und durch die schlichte Natuerlichkeit der Form dem Ausdruck Schoenheit und Kraft verlieh."

The illustrations given under his various works have proved to us that his style is clear-cut, thoughtful and often stirring as well as startling. We know that he went to the poets of action for quotations, and that his comparisons as he draws them from life, are intelligent

* Kohl - Bismarck-Briefe, Vorwort p. vii.
although original, natural and extemporary. When he comes to a climax in a speech he has the faculty of putting all in his heart in one powerful saying which has the effect of giving the last blow to drive in the nail. These sayings which have been termed "winged words" are dictated and colored by the mood in which they were uttered. In order to understand them, the occasion on which they were spoken and the Opposition at which they were aimed must be taken into account.

Bismarck's manner was usually conversational. He had the qualities of a writer to such an extent that his letters are the finest of their time and his speeches excellent. His writings have the excellence of the men of action and to a high degree a distinct literary quality. His Table Talk is considered to possess a charm superior to that of the greatest masters of art. He avoids vague words and uses precise and unique ones, giving them full value and making his phrases clean-cut. In fact we find that Bismarck has the faculty of reproducing what he sees and admires in characteristic word pictures of extraordinary charm so vivid that they produce the effect of lyrical poems.

Goethe quoting Marx says: "Man kann betonen dass Shakespeare und Byron inhaltlich fuer ihn die bestimmenden Dichter bleiben, und dass er seine Sprache wesentlich an
ihnen gebildet hat. Die Briefe an Hatley - halb Shakespeare, halb Fielding - Probestuecke englischen Humors - sind hierfuer charakteristik."*

C. INFLUENCE OF HIS WRITINGS.

Bismarck, the master of the epistolary style and the foremost representative of modern eloquence, has through his creative power enriched the German language. The form of his speeches, and his kind of eloquence was something new and unique in the Reichstag and elsewhere. Through the application of the betterment introduced by Bismarck there has come about a development in the art of letter writing and oratory. The speech of Germans has been greatly enriched with his quotations, and the excellent substance and arrangement of his speeches.

To a certain extend he purified the German language from the French (which was the chief language of his time) for although required to use it, frequently he resorted to the language of his mother tongue at every possible opportunity and emphasized its importance. He objected to the over emphasis of the French and English and by literary-political means he endeavored to make the German language more universal in his state and country. When he made use of foreign words it was for the sake of driving home a point in debate

* Goethein, Criticism of Marcks's Bismarck Jugend p. 330
or speech. The German language being poor in effective and impressive Kraft-ausdruecke he took them from foreign languages.

All of his productions have been popular ever since their appearance, we can safely say that they are increasing in popularity as the world is learning to know and appreciate Bismarck better. As to the first published Bismarck letters, Kohl remarks "Es konnte nicht fehlen, dass diese Briefe als-bald zu einem Schatze des deutschen Volkes wurden." He speaks of the Sonderausgabe which went through five large editions within thirteen years, and of the many thousand copies which "als ein bevorzugtes Geschenk in deutsche Hauser ihren Einzug gehalten haben. Das Ausland nahm diese Briefe als wertvolle Bereichenung der Weltliteratur auf; sie wurden ins Franzoeische, Engliche und Niederlaendische uebersetzt und auch in ferner Zunge gern gelesen - Kein Zweifel, dass ein guter Teil der Liebe, die das deutsche Volk fuer seinen Bismarck fuehlt auf die Rechnung dieser Briefe zu setzen ist.

So sind die Bismarckfriefe fuer unser Volk zu einer gesunden Spiese geworden, nach der es immer von neuen verlautet. Mit seinem Bismarck fuehlt es sich verdachsen wie mit seinem Goethe, denn beider Heroen innere Verwand-
schaft hat es laengst erkannt. Seine Reden
und seine Briefe betrachtet as als ein teures Vermachtnis,
als ein Born, aus dem es Erguickung und Trost, Rat und
Antrieb schoepfen kann, als ein Schatz, in dessen wort
licher Reichtum es immer neue Goldkoerner tiefen Ge-
musts und unverflaelschster Treue findet."

Finally, a brief study of Bismarck's literary pro-
ductions, and their characteristics has revealed to us not
only their place in literature, but also the capabilities of
the man, his character and his influence. His works have
proved to us that he is not the harsh man that he was thought,
and sometimes is still thought to be (because not understood),
to be explained when one considers his varied nature. For
that reason he is, as Marcks says: "ein anderer in jeden
Lebenskreise und keinem gibt er sich ganz hin. Das ist seine
eigenartige Groesse, und dies hat ihn fort-waehrend aus
enttaeuchten Freunden Feinde gemacht, ein Schicksal das
er mit Goethe teilt. Er aber bleibt immer auf der Hoehe,
ob er sich begeistert hingibt, oder mit verletzenden Hohn,
der manchmal bis zur Unklugheit geht, den Gegner bekaempft."
But in reality as his works prove, Bismarck's nature is a
kindly one, compassionate and helpful. He was always the
poor man's friend, not only in words, but in deeds. He never
oppressed or dealt hardly with his tenants or servants, in fact,
he rather wore his heart upon his sleeve and in private life
was one of the simplest and most unaffected of men.

* Kohl - Bismarck-Briefe - Vorwort, pp. vii-viii.
BISMARCK IN LITERATURE.

When we consider the Bismarck literature in the book-world, we have sufficient evidence or proof that Germany's greatest Chancellor is in literature to stay. We find that Prince Otto, the greatest of the Bismarcks who wielded the sword as well as the pen, revealed himself to such an extent in his words and deeds that much of his influence consists in the inspiration which he gave to the German nation through these. Literature is not only affected by the hero and great statesman, feared at first because, after becoming Minister-president in 1862, he dared to startle his countrymen by saying that great problems are not going to be settled by Parliamentary speeches and majority votes, but by blood and iron, but also by one of the kindest of men who possessed the best of qualities and in whom it sees a classic writer of modern German prose of the nineteenth century.

Since the publication of Bismarck's works has revealed him in his true light, Bismarck-literature has constantly been on the increase. Therefore, much is said, written and sung of him, with the result that we find Bismarkiana more or less extensive in all countries exclusive of Germany, as for instance in France, England,
Austria, Italy, Spain, Holland, Prussia and America.

Arthur Singer in his "Bismarck in der Literatur" opens our eyes as to the extent of it. His extensive work covers the years 1862-1908, and since it is impossible to do justice to an outline of it in this chapter, we must go to the text itself for even such information.

It may be of interest though, to mention some of the early and important literature as it appeared. - The year 1862, in which Bismarck, appears in the Lower House of Prussia as Minister-president, brings the first real Bismarkiana which was published by W. Voilet in Leipzig, and bears the title of "Vorwaerts mein Preussen volk."

It consists of eight Flugschriften of which one is of special interest. In 1862 the newly founded "Der kleine Reaktionar, Illustriertes humoristisch - satyrisches Wochenblatt fuer die konservative Partei," later called "Sturmblatt Dueppel," contained numerous Bismarck-Karikaturen and supposedly the first "Bismarck-Gedichte."

In the number of March 7, 1863, we find a poem to: "Herr von Bismarck. Zum 28 Februar," of which the opening and closing stanza is as follows:

"Kuehner Schiffer, fest die Hand am Steuer,
Fest den Blick gerichtet auf das Ziel,
Also durch der Wogen maecht'-ge Brandung
--- Fuehr' zum Hafen den bedraengten Kiel."*

* Singer, - Bismarck in der Literatur, - P. 8.
In 1863 Bismarck's speeches treating of the Polish-Prussian questions were published, and the literature of 1864-1865 treats of the Danish war and its results. Anonymously appeared Flugschriften and a work by the French Victor Contant: "Le parti féodal en Prusse au point de vue des intérêts prussiens, allemands et européens. Trois lettres de Berlin." The latter was translated into German the following year. Worthy of mention is also a very pretty "Amerikanisches Flugblatt" which had a good circulation in America. Mr. Singer says of it:

"Die beim Verlag Callincot in Philadelphia verlegte Heliogravure zeigt Wilhelm auf einem romanischen Triumphwagen; auf dem mittleren der drei vorgespannten Pferde sitzt Bismarck und schwingt eine Fahne mit der Inschrift: "Blut und Eiseh! Gewalt vor Recht!" Unten den Bilde: "Das wilde Heer vom Jahre 1866;" rechts und links: "Wenn Deutschland jetzt geteilt, auch der Gewalt erliegt, die Wahrheit und das Recht doch sicher endlich siegt!"*

As regards the Bismarck family history, 1866 offers the great work:

"Geschichte des schlossgesessenen adeligen Geschlechts von Bismarck bis zum Erwerb von Crevese und Schoenhause," by A. F. Riedel. The most important literary work of 1866 is Ludwigs Hahn's: "Die Innere Politik der preussischen Regierung von 1862 bis 1866. Sammlung der aemtlichen

Kundgebungen und halbaentlichen Aeusserungen." Of interest is also another French Bismarck work by Victor Constant: "La Prusse Lettre au Conte de Bismarck."

The first great biographical works of Bismarck appear in 1867 - "Graf Bismarck - Ein Lebensbild," contains a complete biography of Bismarck up to 1866, and a chapter on his politics by Dr. W. R. Schulze, who also wrote "Graf Bismarck, Charakterbild, eines deutschen Staatsmannes," and in 1872, "Fuerst Bismarck und Bismarkianismus." Of this year we have also Jaquet's: "Treussens Minister praesident Graf Bismarck Schoenhausen, der unermudliche Patriot. Sein Leben, Streben, und Wirken, dem preussischen Volke geschildert." Among the Flugschriften are: Wilhelm Christern's Bismarck und Napoleon Motto: Preussens Beruf ist Deutschlands Bestimmung. Ein deutsches Wort an das deutsche Volk;" Herman von Gauvin's;"Graf Bismarck und die Legitimitaet der Dinge oder: Wie Napoleon Deutschland zerstoerte," and the interesting "didaktische Epos:" "Bismarckias," by Dr. Karl Gustav Schwetche.

Of 1868 Ludwig Bamberger's works are the most worthy of mention. His first work, written in French, "Monsieur de Bismarck" was soon translated into German and English. At the close of the year there appeared the "Roman:"
1869 brings the first complete collection of Bismarck's speeches: "Erste Sammlung der Reden des Grafen von Bismarck - Schoenhausen." The speeches are those of 1862-1866, and were published by the Schettlers of Koethen. Among French works are found Vilbort's "L'oeuvre de M. de Bismarck 1863-1866, Sadova et la campagne de 7 jours. Avec 2 cartes, Paris. Charpentier (which appeared in German and Danish during the following year) and J. Klaszko's "M. de Bismarck et l'Alliance du Nord." In English there appeared from L. Bamberger's "Herr von Bismarck", Ch. Lee Lewes's translation: "Count Bismarck. A political biography;" and in the line of Bismarck poesie Gustav Schwetschke's "Varzinias, die kleinen Bismarkiax, ein didaktisches Idyll," also a Jewish jargon bearing the title: "Schreibbrief an den gruszen Grafen Bismarck uber den Szustand von de Verhaltnisse in Aschkenas (Deutschland) von Isaak Moses Hersch."

During the great year of 1870, literature was enriched with French publications of Bismarck speeches: Gust. Strafforello's Italian:"Bismarck - Biografia;" - Dutch works; Stanislaw Kowman's interesting historical:
"Graf Bismarck und sein Werk, der norddeutsche Bund" translated into the German by E. M. P. Bles; and the unsigned Flugschrift: "What is your name?" M. or M.? A strong story revealed, which appeared in English at London and in Brussels in French. At the same time as the above there appeared in Boston a pamphlet entitled: "Origin of the Bismarck policy or the Hohenzollern doctrine and maxims described and defined by the most eminent monarch of the Prussian Dynasty, Frederick the Great." During this year Austria also continued her attacks on Bismarck by works entitled: "Gerlachs Licht und Bismarck's Finsternis Von einem Oesterreicher."

The literature of 1871 is characterized by the events of the Franco-Prussian War and the founding of the German Empire. Of this year a collection of poems by J. Poisile Desgranges is interesting. The "Pendant l'orage Poèmes nationaux et historiques," contains a long poem - "Epître à Bismarck. Aux manes des victimes de la guerre et du bombardement de Paris". After the declaration of war, many Flugschriften were sold in all countries. These contained matter as to Bismarck; the frontispiece of "Le Trombiscope" par Touchatout is very characteristic of the time - Bismarck in caricature is surrounded by the children Austria, Schleswig, Denmark, and Hannover, who are hung up on pegs. Lorraine is tied to him and screaming
Alsace is struggling in one of his arms. Contem-
porary with the French pamphlets were the German "Zuend-
adeln" - appearing as:"Ernstere und heitere Bilder aus
dem deutschen Nationalkrieg gegen Napoleon III, und aus
der darauf folgenden Zeit;" Emile Breyer of Brussels
published:"Uh pien ma petite Bismarck," "Le roi Bis-
marck debrouille toi" and "Bismarck, a leur sante;"
and of interest are the pictures as mentioned by Singer:
"Von hohem kunstlerischen Werte sind Zwei Zeichnungen
von Adrien Marie, die vom Photographen Godet in Paris
in gut ausgefuhrten auf Karton aufgezogenen Licht-
bildern verbreitet wurden.(beide tragen das Datum: 1871)
Das eine Bild stellt Kaiser Wilhelm I., Napoleon III,
und Bismarck an Pfahle gefesselt im Bueszergewande dar;
sie muessen die Opfer des Krieges an sich vorbeiziehen
sehen und deren Klagen und Vorwuerfe uber sich ergeben
lassen; auf den zweiten Bilde sieht man Kaiser Wilhelm,
Bismarck und den Tod auf Rossen uber ein Schlachtfeld
jagen.* The following editions also contain Bismarck
pictures and caricatures: "Kriegschattenbilder" (Scholz,
Mainz);"Kriegsbilderbogen" (Krassart, Dresden); "Humor-
istisches Kriegsalbum" (Hamburg, Schlotke); "Erinner-
ungsblatter" (Braun und Schneider Maenschen) and

* Singer, - Bismarck in der Literatur - P. 56.
"Karikaturen" by Schwartz (Neunhn, Schwartz, u. a.; 
"Bismarck wickele rasch!"

After the founding of the modern German Empire
the important questions, events, and happenings as
they came up have been additionally treated in the
Bismarck literature, such as the Kulturkampf, the
Falk laws, correspondence between Prince Bismarck and
Pope Pius IX - during the years 1869-1873, and the
Berlin Congress. Much has also been written about
Bismarck's modern Prussia and German Empire. The
year 1895 stands out especially in Bismarck-literature
for it is the year of the great Chancellor's eightieth
birthday, which was celebrated among other ways by
writings, and by speech and song. A few of the con-
tributions are "Fuerst Bismarck's 81 Geburtstag. Voll-
endung des 80 Lebensjahres, Bericht ueber die Ereignisse
vor und an demselben - Reden - Preszstimmen. - Gedichte
des In-und Auslandes" zusammengestellt von E. Brause-
witter; Baumert: "Fuerst Bismarck. Ich weiss einen
grossen Meister"; R. Becker: "Bismarck Lied von Paul
Heyse zur Feier des 80 jachritigen Geburtstages: War hat
das Reich uns aufgebaut?"; Behnish: "Festlieder zu Fuerst
Bismarcks 80 Geburtstagsfeier. Heil Dir Bismarck!
Unserem Bismarck Heil!" Boehm: "Bismarck - Hymne: Kennst
Du den stolzen Namen: Gedicht von E. Roy"; "Hoch Bis-
Bismarck. Preislieder der deutschen Studentenschaft
der 80 Geburtstagsfeier des Fuersten Otto von Bis-
und zwei Gedichten von F. A. Ackermann;" "Bismarck
Album, herausgegeben zum 80 Geburtstag 1 April, 1895;
Hugo Bonte; "Dem Kanzler! Ein Lieder-strauss zum 1
April 1895;" Johanna Doltz: "Des Kaisers Kronenschmied
oder Getreu den Hohenzollern. Bismarck-Festspiel zum
1 April 1895"; "Lieder zum Bismarckfest" (Duesseldorfb ei A. Silbermann); Hoff: "Deutschlands Dank an Bismarck.
Gedicht von Paul Heyse; Horn Adolf; "Bismarcklied, Heil
Bismarck, Heil;" Henkel; Bismarck Zum 80 jahrigen Ge-
burtstag. Deutscher Triumphmarsch;" Just. Kuenmel:
"Dem Einiger Deutschlands! Bismarck-Festspiel;" Kropf:
Fuerst Bismarck, des Deutschen Reiches Baumeister. Ich
weiß einen grossen Meister;" Wiedemann;"Bismarck - Hymne
zum frohlichen Geburtstagsfest," and K. Wiegand's:"Bis-
marck - Festspiel zum 80 Geburtstagsfeste Sr. Durchlaucht
des Fuersten von Bismarck." Unter gleich zeitiger
Benutzung seines epischen Gedichtes "Deutschlands Dreig-
gestirn" von K. Wiegand (Pseudonym). Other publications
by Beyer: "Bismarck und der Kaiser," and by Robolsky -
among others:" Hæde zarte - Blut und Eisen! Bismarck
unter drei Kaiserinnen."
During the In Memoriam Year - 1898 - the Gedenk-Feier brought forth much literature in all languages of which P. Romer's: "Das Testament des Fuersten Bismarck, Ein Vermächtnis fuer das deutsche Volk" aручes our interest. In 1899 there is much literature relative to the appearance of Bismarck's "Gedanken und Erinnerungen" of which enlarged editions appeared in 1901. In 1900 the letters, "Bismarck-Briefe an seine Braut und Gattin," published by Prince Herbert Bismarck, the Chancellor's son, attracted much attention, and "Parliamentarische Abende bei Bismarck" by L. Remert and W. Harlan's: "Der tolle Bismarck" Lustspiel in vier Aufzügen are some of the works of that year. While quoting Singer as an authority, a man who spent years in a careful collection of Bismarck literature, it may be well to mention the following in connection with the year 1908: "Mit diesem Jahre schliesst das erste Dezennium seit dem Ableben des Altreichskanzlers ab. Und die Bismarck Literatur ist nicht nur im Abflauen begriffen, sondern der Name Bismarck kehrt immer haeufiger in den Buchanzeigen wieder und immer lebhafter wird das Interesse, das den grosssten Deutschen des 19 Jahr-hunderts engegen gebracht wird. - - - Vollstaendig ist das Bild Bismarcks noch immer nicht. Noch sind die Geheimarchive verschlossen, noch sind die grossen Staats-
91.

akten seiner Zeit dem Forscher unzugänglich, Erst ein späteres Geschlecht wird das Bild des Altreichskanzlers voll und ganz schauen können."

In considering the Bismarck literature briefly, we may say that the literature dealing directly and chiefly with the life and achievements of Prince Bismarck is already very extensive. His speeches have been published in several German editions - the best is Kohl's, in twelve volumes - and in a French edition of fifteen volumes. Many of his diplomatic and other state papers have been published by Poschinger - "Preussen im Bundestage", four volumes; "Dokumente zur Geschichte der Wirtschaftspolitik," five volumes - and by Hahn und Wippermann - "Fuerst Bismarck," five volumes. Four volumes of Bismarck's political letters and four small volumes of private letters have also been printed. In Busch - "Bismarck und seine Leute," "Neue Tagebuchblätter," "Unser Reichskanzler," "Bismarck und sein Werk" - the prince found a Boswell who kept a diary and who reports much of the great man's small-talk. Bismarck's Frankfurt despatches and his letters have been translated into French; some of his letters have also appeared in English. Busch's material has been collected and published in English in three volumes entitled,

* Singer, - Bismarck in der Literatur - p. 298.
"Bismarck; Some Secret Pages of His History." (1898)

The best account of Bismarck's public career down to 1870 is that given by Sybel in his "Begruendung des deutschen Reichs," seven volumes of which there is an English translation. Sybel's history is based, except as regards the years 1867-70 upon the Prussian archives, and until these and other European archives are opened to students, it will remain the most authoritative source of information. The most complete study of Bismarck's policy after 1870 is given by Blum in his "Deutsches Reich zur Zeit Bismarcks" - a book largely inspired by Bismarck himself. Blum has also published an elaborate history in six volumes, covering Bismarck's entire career - "Bismarck und seine Zeit." Of the other numerous biographies of Bismarck that have been written by his countrymen, those by Hesekiel, Mueller and Jahnke seem to be the most popular. The best French book is that by Edouard Simon; the fullest English life is Charles Lowe's "Prince Bismarck" two volumes. (1886) Mr. Lowe has since published a more condensed biography in one volume.

Those who are curious to follow the changing appreciation of Bismarck as revealed in caricatures will find collected in one volume - "Bismarck - Album des Klaadderadatsch" - all the Bismarck pictures published by the
leading humorous papers of Berlin, from the first appearance of the Prussian deputy in 1847 to the dismissal of the German Chancellor in 1890; and in Grand-Carteret: "Bismarck en Caricatures" (Paris, 1890), they will find reproductions of one hundred and forty cartoons from comic papers in all parts of the world.

Kohl gives us a fairly full Bismarck bibliography and also a list of original paintings, sketches and photographs of the prince in his little "Bismarck Gedenkbuch" of 1888. A relatively complete bibliography by Schultze and Koller - "Bismarck-Literatur," Leipzig, 1895 - contains about six hundred titles, and we find that Lemke and Buechner of New-York publish a useful list of selected books and pamphlets.

Since 1893 a "Bismarck Jahrbuch" has appeared edited by Kohl and devoted exclusively to the study of Bismarck's life and achievements. Modern German and European histories; German political pamphlets from 1862 to the present time, memoirs and biographies of the German statesman and generals who were associated with Bismarck's work, and of the foreigners who were allies or his enemies - all these necessarily deal to a greater or less extent with Bismarck's career and may be classed as a sort of secondary Bismarck literature. Among the memoirs and biographies - works of the last mentioned class - the book of Erich Marcks: "Kaiser William I.", deserves special mention. It deserved special mention not only because its author has much to say about
Bismarck, but because of the fairness and insight that he displays.

Of the states, outside of Germany which admires Bismarck exceedingly is Austria. Austria had looked to Bismarck for her liberator because Bismarck had the unity idea. - her idea of the unification of the German tribes. He was Austria's friend, and when he could not be otherwise than her enemy during the Austria-Prussian times, of 1862-1866, she forgave him when the struggle was over. Consequently the German speaking Austria considers Bismarck a type - She looks up to his ideas and his ideals are furthered. He is lauded by the Austrians in songs, novels and journalistic literature.

In this chapter we have considered only to a small extent the Bismarck literature, but we cannot fail to be aware of the fact that Bismarck is in literature and that Bismarck-literature is increasing in extensiveness. In closing, a few illustrations from his experiences may interest us:

One, when an English friend visited Bismarck in his pretty Friedrichsruh, he related to him his birthday experience. He had received 8000 written congratulations
and at least a quarter of them were poems. Verse making having extended to all the strata of population he received a poem from a saddler, which abounded in reverential phrases, and superlative good wishes. Poems came also from carpenters, artisans, and one from a young girl, daintily written on a sheet of artistic note paper; paper, writing and sentiment alike betrayed the authorship.

eine frische und kräftige Geistestät, um die lebendige Einheit in der reichen Mannigfaltigkeit des deutschen Geisteslebens verwirklichen zu helfen. Die Nation wird die Worte des Dichters, der ihre Schmerzen wie die Begeisterung, und vor allem ihrer deutschen Pietäet fuer Kaiser und Reich so lebenswahren Ausdruck leibt, freudig vernehmen und sich daran erbauen; und sie wird das, was in Ihrem Liede noch prophetisch ist, zu Erfüllung bringen. Daran lassen Sie uns, jeder an seiner Stelle, mit arbeiten und nicht muede werden im Dienste des Vaterlandes."

Although Bismarck inspired the song, his letter of thanks certainly serves as an added inspiration to the inspired.

We cannot but appreciate the pretty tribute to Bismarck's influence when we remember that "Die Wacht am Rhein" the famous national song is inscribed upon the beautiful Ruedesheim Denkmal which guards the German Rhine, and was erected in his honor. It is a fit tribute to the man who revived a new appreciation of the old patriotic songs, such as "Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland," and Hauff's touching "Reiters-Morgenlied," and who gave an inspiration to so much that is beautiful in German song and literature in general.

*Boehm, Dismarck und Shakespeare - pp. 161-162*
RESUME AND CONCLUSION.

As the foregoing chapters have pointed out Bismarck possessed the true characteristics of a literary man and the capabilities of a statesman. The embodiment of the two made him great. The man with the literary tendencies worked out successfully the great problems of his political career with the aid of literary means - the literary-political combination was his power and brought about success. The literary strength that Bismarck possessed and made use of, the inspiration and strength he received from literature and its writers account for his place in literature as well as in politics.

As Bismarck drew from and received inspiration from men like Shakespeare, Goethe and Schiller, thus, did men and do men derive inspiration, strength and power from this great man of action. The world sees that he possesses the qualities of a writer - that he is a stylist and a classic writer of nineteenth century prose. It sees him as a painter of beautiful descriptions of nature in word-pictures, and appreciates him as a poet because his letters have the effect of lyric poems.

We find that Bismarck's contributions to German literature have enriched the German language and incidentall
purified it, besides aiding it to become universal in Germany.

His speeches are splendid and are a proof of how he enriched German speech, his state papers show conciseness and thoughts that are expressed clearly and simply. Bismarck's letters give him the name of classic and his table talk reveals the splendid raconteur, and the best literature of its kind in modern times. The memoirs reveal the man as a writer of the real history of his time. In fact, the characteristics of Bismarck's writings are: simplicity, direction, vigor - the excellence observed in men of action. He uses precise and unique words, his phrases are clean-cut and the unexpected turn in his writing is wit - his manner is conversational - there is style.

Bismarck's career as a statesman may be thought of as a prolonged sensational drama, but his private life was uniquely tranquil and remarkably happy. The admirable traits of a constant husband, a sympathetic and venerated parent, a lover and cherisher of home seem, in a peculiar degree to grace and dignify the man of a strong and masterful character, and iron will (on opportune occasions). This side of Bismarck's life was overlooked to his disadvantage until his letters appeared which very favorably changed
the attitude toward him and the understanding of him. The great Chancellor's literary productions reveal him as he lived, thought and felt, therefore, if literature is the lasting expression in words of the meaning of life, Franz Leubach, his portrait painter, who had the good fortune of studying him and listening to him often, spoke truly when he said: "Alles, was er jemals gesagt hat das bleibt in der Welt, es kann nicht mehr heraus."
BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Abbott, John S. C.
Academy Constitution.

Bismarck, Prince Otto von.

Boehlingk, Arthur.

Blum, Dr. Hans.

Busch, Dr. Moritz.

Busch, Dr. Moritz.

Busch, Dr. Moritz.

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. XI.

Dawson, William Harbutt.

Dodds, W. F.

Encyclopedia Britannica.

Frussia.
New York, 1671.

Vol. I.
Philadelphia, 1893.

Gedanken und Erinnerungen 2 Vols. Translated from the German by J. C. Butl.

Bismarck and Shakespeare Stuttgart und Berlin, 1908.

Das Deutsche Reich zur Zeit Bismarcks.
Leipzig und Wien, 1893.

Bismarck - Some Secrets Pages of his History, 3 Vols.
Leipzig, 1898.

Bismarck in the Franco-German War - 2 Vols.
London, 1879.

Our Chancellor, 2 Vols.
London, 1884

New York and London, 1904

Germany & the Germans, 2 Vols.
London, 1894.

Modern Constitutions.
Vol. I.
Chicago and London 1909.

Eleventh Edition,
Vol. IV.
Cambridge, Eng.
N. Y. 1911.
Goerlach, Wilhelm.

Headlam, J. Wycliffe.

Hell, Otto.

Howard, Burt Estes.

Kohl, Horst.

Lamprecht, Karl.

Lewis, Charlton T.

Lieb, Herman.

Lowe, Charles.

Magazine References.


"The End of the Bismarck Dynasty."

"Bismarcks Jugend" a translation and criticism of Marcks's: "Bismarck's Jugend" by Eberhard Gothein.


McClure - 31; 367-77. Ag. 06. "Talks with Bismarck" - Carl Schurz.

Nation - 83; 324. 0. 18, 06. "Bismarck's Retirement."

Malleson, G. B.

Nelson,

Perris, Herbert

Ogg, Frederic Austin

Rose, J. H.

Schierbrand, Wolf von.

Seignobos.

Stearns, Frank Preston.

The Refounding of the German Empire.
New York, 1893.

Encyclopedia, Vol. II.

Germany and the German Emperor.

The Governments of Europe.
New York, 1912.

Germany in the Nineteenth Century.
Univ. Series.
Manchester, 1912.

Germany.
New York, 1902.

Political History of Europe since 1814.
New York, 1906.

The Life of Prince Otto von Bismarck.
Singer, Arthur.

Bismarck in der Literatur.
Wien, 1912.

Smith, Munroe.

Bismarck.

Schulz, Eduard.

Bismarck's Einfluss auf die Deutsche Presse (Jul: 1870.)
Halle a. S. 1910.

Sybel, Heinrich von.

The Founding of the German Empire.
Vol. V.
New York.

Walpole, Sir Spencer.

Studies in Biography.
New York, 1907.